







THE TRAINING OF
A SOVEREIGN

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H. R. H. Princess Victoria & 'Dashy'
from a picture by W. Marshall R. A. at Windsor Castle

THE TRAINING OF A SOVEREIGN

AN ABRIDGED SELECTION FROM
"THE GIRLHOOD OF QUEEN
VICTORIA," BEING HER MAJESTY'S
DIARIES BETWEEN THE YEARS
1832 AND 1840

PUBLISHED BY AUTHORITY OF
HIS MAJESTY THE KING

EDITED BY VISCOUNT ESHER, G.C.B., G.C.V.O.

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ALPHABETIC

PREFACE

THE Journals reveal the secret of a Monarch in the making. They suggest reflections.

In the first agony of grief at the loss of her husband, within a few days of his death, the Queen wrote these words: "The great object we must all have before us, and which was the only one our beloved Prince and Master, our Guide and Counsellor, had in view, is the real good of the Royal Princes. The real good means their steady development in everything that is great, virtuous, and useful, and that will render them good sons, brothers, husbands, citizens, and benefactors of mankind. To obtain this no effort must be left untried."

Since these words were written, the history of the English Monarchy bears witness to the Queen's achievement. Her own reign was prolonged by forty years, years of persistent effort to place the duty of the Sovereign and the character of the Monarchy in the forefront of national endeavour. Her success was complete. The standard of constitutional government was raised by the personal influence of the Queen and immutably fixed. None of her successors can venture to lower it. Her son, King Edward, if possible, enhanced the prestige of the Throne that she had so splendidly adorned. Her grandson, King George, has contrived, in a few short years, to conquer the affections of his people,

and establish for himself and his son an exalted place in the esteem and respect of his subjects.

The early training of Queen Victoria, the lessons in constitutional government learnt at the side of Lord Melbourne, and transmitted by her to her son and successors, have placed the English Throne upon foundations so solid, that the waves of modern scepticism and latter-day rationalism break vainly against it. The personal element in the governance of a nation is an inscrutable form of emotion difficult to analyse and not easily explained. For us, who inhabit these Islands, and for those of our blood oversea, the Monarchy stands as the living emblem of England's past history, of her sacrifices and triumphs.

The collect for the Sovereign and Knights of the Most Noble Order of the Garter contains this petition :

"We humbly beseech Thee so to dispose and govern the heart of George Thy servant, our King and Governour, and to assist him continually with Thy Holy Spirit, that, as he is truly descended from the ancient Princes of this Realm, and the bountiful Patrons and Founders of this noble Order and Church, he may in all his thoughts, words and works, ever seek Thy honour and glory."

In such an atmosphere as this our Sovereigns and their sons are reared. Humility before God, consciousness of high responsibilities inherited through eight hundred years, aspiration towards that honour and glory only to be achieved by duty virtuously performed, this is the note struck by a personal Monarchy that finds an echo in the hearts of men leading hard, strenuous, or lonely lives in all parts of our Empire.

When Queen Victoria ascended the Throne, the Monarchy was an appanage of the aristocracy, and the coping-stone of a form of government, oligarchic,

and popular only in name. It is mainly due to her that the Throne stands to-day rooted in the hearts of the people, the workers, men and women, leading ordinary and grey lives in the great cities of the Midlands and the North, or scattered through the farmsteads of the Dominions.

The Hanoverian princes in the eighteenth century, who were titular Kings of England, were reluctant pawns in the hands of a junto of politicians. With the exception of George III., they were unrecognized by their subjects, beyond the immediate orbit of St. James's or of Windsor. King George V. and Queen Mary are personally known to millions of their subjects, rich and poor alike. In the eyes of his people, within these Isles, in India and oversea, the King stands for England, for her glorious past, for her noble disinterestedness among the nations of the earth, and for her future. There is no sycophancy in this sentiment, and no flattery in the expression of it. The Crown, in the eyes of the People, is a symbol and a link—a symbol of national honour and a link of Empire.

In our modern world no secret may be kept, and no concealment is possible. The light that beats upon Throne and cottage alike is composed of penetrating and revealing rays. This is at the same time a danger and a safeguard.

Perhaps individual authority is no longer, in cruder form, a source of power; but influence—the influence of a noble character and of lofty motive, crowned by a glittering and historic diadem—is still a potent force in the affairs of men. The influence of our Sovereigns, heads of the Church and of the State, remains so far unchallenged among the systems of governments applicable to the modern world.

PREFACE TO FIRST EDITION

THESE extracts from the early Journals of Queen Victoria have been edited by command of her son, King Edward VII., and under the gracious auspices of her grandson, King George V.

The Editor feels bound to express his humble gratitude to the King, and his deep obligation to the Queen, for the encouragement and assistance he has received from their Majesties in the preparation of these volumes.

Without the Queen's help and exact historical knowledge of the period covered by the Journals, many imperfections in the editing of them would have passed unnoticed.

The Editor must also return his warmest thanks to H.R.H. Princess Christian of Schleswig-Holstein, whose retentive memory of the persons mentioned in the text has been unreservedly and generously brought to bear upon the notes to these volumes, and to H.R.H. Princess Henry of Battenberg, to whose pious regard for her Mother's memory, as Executrix of Queen Victoria's Will, the publication of the Journals may be ascribed.

Furthermore, he is anxious to thank Lord Rosebery for his friendly co-operation in having read the proofs, and for many valuable suggestions.

And, finally, he cannot sufficiently acknowledge the care lavished upon the publication of this book by his friend John Murray, junior, whose inherited gifts have been placed unreservedly at the disposal of the Editor.

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INTRODUCTION

I

THE pen recoils from an attempt to tell again the story of Princess Victoria's birth and early life, or to describe once more the political events of her first years upon the Throne. Moreover, these volumes tell their own tale. They set forth in the young Princess's own artless words the daily facts of her existence at Kensington, or when making some provincial royal progress in the company of her mother.

The reader can catch many a glimpse here and there of the soul of a Princess, proud and headstrong, affectionate and sometimes perverse, seated on the lonely heights of the Throne. The portrait is here, within these pages. It is not unskillfully drawn, when the youth of the artist is borne in mind. At the time when the first entries in these Journals were made, the writer was thirteen years old. The last page was written on the day of her marriage. She had been two years a Queen, and she was in her twenty-first year.

Princess Victoria, the only child of the Duke and Duchess of Kent, and the ultimate heiress in direct succession of George III., was born on May 24, 1819. In 1819 the aspect of English country life was not very different from that of to-day; if the roads were not so well surfaced, and if woodlands were rather more plentiful, the fields and hedgerows, the farmsteads with cottages grouped around them, the Tudor manor-houses,

the Georgian villas, the church spires, and the village greens have remained unchanged. Except for lines of railway and telegraph poles, the hop-fields of Kent and the Surrey commons have kept their shape and contours. So that, in spite of the miracles wrought by machinery in the minutiae of life, any one of our grandparents cruising in an airship at an elevation of some hundreds of feet over the lands where he hunted and shot, or even the great towns where he spent his summer months, would probably be unconscious of much distinctive change.

Young people, however, think it odd when they read that when Princess Victoria was taken from Kensington to Claremont—a journey now accomplished with as little thought as would then have been given to a drive between the Palace and Hyde Park—it was considered a “family removal” of such moment as to require all the provision and precautions associated to-day with an autumn holiday.

To those still young, but old enough to remember Queen Victoria, it may seem hardly credible that she was born into a world devoid of all the marvels of steam and electric contrivance that appear to us the necessities, and not merely the luxuries, of life. How much more difficult it must be for them to realise that when the young Princess (whom they remember a great and mysterious figure, welcoming back only the other day her soldiers from South Africa, and rejoicing in their victories) was carried into the saloon of Kensington Palace to be received by Archbishop Manners Sutton into the Church of Christ, the mighty spirit of Napoleon brooded still behind the palisades of Longwood, and George III.'s white and weary head could still be seen at the window of his library at Windsor!

The Victorian era covers the period of the expansion of England into the British Empire. The soldier, still young to-day, who put the coping-stone on the Empire in Africa in 1900 is linked by the life of the Queen to his forbears, who, when she was born, were still nursing

the wounds gloriously earned four years before in laying its foundation in a Belgian cornfield.

That year 1819, however, was a year of deep despondency in England. In Europe it was the "glorious year of Metternich," then at the height of his maleficent power. Europe was quit of Napoleon, but had got Metternich in exchange, and was ill pleased with the bargain. Great Britain, it is true, was free, but our people were overwrought by poverty and suffering. The storm-swell of the great Napoleonic wars still disturbed the surface of English life, and few realised that they were better off than they had been during the past decade.

At Holland House, its coteries thinner but still talking, Lady Holland—old Madagascar—was still debating what inscription should record the merits of Mr. Fox upon his monument in the Abbey for the edification of future ages. In St. James's Place Sam Rogers's breakfasts had not lost their vogue. Tommy Moore was still dining with Horace Twiss, and meeting Kean, and Mrs. Siddons, "cold and queenlike," on her way to view Caroline of Brunswick's "things" shortly to be sold at Christie's, or to criticise Miss O'Neill's dress rehearsals. On the very day that Princess Victoria was born, Byron was writing to John Murray from Venice "in the agonies of a sirocco," and clamouring for the proofs of the first canto of *Don Juan*. In that year *Ivanhoe* was finished, and in the hands of eager readers; whilst Scott was receiving at Abbotsford a certain Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, uncle of the baby at Kensington, destined thereafter to play a large part in her early life. Keats had just published *Endymion*. It was his last year in England before going south to die. And it was Shelley's *annus mirabilis*: the year in which he wrote *Prometheus* and *The Cenci*—an achievement, some have since said, unparalleled in English poetry since Shakespeare lived and wrote.

The Excursion had been published five years before, but Wordsworth was at Rydal Mount completing *The*

White Doe of Rylston. Southey was Poet Laureate. Three years before, in the "wild and desolate neighbourhood amid great tracks of bleak land enclosed by stone dykes sweeping up Clayton heights," Charlotte Brontë's eyes had opened upon her sad world. Carlyle, then a young teacher in Edinburgh, was passing through that stormy period of the soul which comes sooner or later to every one whose manhood is worth testing by God. And half-way between Horncastle and Spilsby, on the lower slope of a Lincolnshire wold, Alfred Tennyson was reading Pope's *Iliad* and himself "writing an epic of 6,000 lines *à la* Walter Scott." At Shrewsbury School under Dr. Butler, Charles Darwin, then a boy of ten, had already begun to develop a taste for "collecting," manifested in "franks" and seals and coins. Robert Browning, a turbulent and destructive child of seven, had already commenced making rhymes less complicated, but not less ambitious, than those which puzzled his readers sixty years later. Goethe, who had grown to manhood within earshot of Frederick the Great and of the Empress Maria Theresa, was living at Weimar with many years of life still before him, corresponding with the boy Mendelssohn, later to be a welcome guest, at Windsor, of the little Princess, then in her cradle in Kensington Palace. Mazzini, aged fourteen, was at the University in Genoa, a rebellious lad, but already affecting the deep mourning dress he never altered later in life. Cavour, aged nine, was at school in Turin. Sir Thomas Lawrence was in that year engaged in finishing his magnificent series of historical portraits afterwards to find a home at Windsor Castle, illustrating for all time the Congress of Vienna and the story of the Great Coalition against Napoleon.

Under this galaxy of stars, some slowly sinking below the horizon, and others just rising above it, Princess Victoria was born.

In the year following King George III. died. Historians, mostly partisans of the Whig party, have not done this King justice. Of all Sovereigns who have

ever reigned in England, none so completely represented the average man among his subjects. The King's blameless morals, his regular habits, his conservative instincts and narrow obstinacy, were characteristics which he shared with the people he ruled. Of the House of Hanover he was the first King born in England, and he spoke his native tongue without a foreign accent. If he could have reconciled it to the family tradition, he would have married an English wife. He was essentially British in character and sentiment. Had he not been overborne by his Ministers, he would have fought out to a finish the war with America, and peace with Washington would not have been concluded. He never for a moment contemplated abandoning the struggle against Napoleon. No party whip could have taken more trouble to keep his chief in office than did George III. to support Mr. Pitt throughout that Minister's first administration. He has been called despotic, but that adjective can only be used, in speaking of him, in the sense that he wished to see his views prevail. He was a good partisan fighter, and this, in the main, his subjects never disliked. A close and impartial examination of the character of George III. discloses a temperament strongly resembling that which her Ministers were destined in the middle and later years of her reign to find in his granddaughter. Strong tenacity of view and of purpose, a vivid sense of duty, a firm though unrevealed belief in the transcendental right of the Sovereign to rule, a curious mingling of etiquette and domestic simplicity, and a high standard of domestic virtue were marked characteristics of George III. and of Queen Victoria. Both these descendants of Princess Sophia had little in common with the Stewarts, but, like Elizabeth and the Tudors, they had intense pride in England, and they showed a firm resolve to cherish and keep intact their mighty inheritance.

When George III. died at Windsor in 1820, and during the ten following years, Princess Victoria's uncle, George IV., reigned as King. For the previous ten

years he had reigned as Prince Regent. If his father has been misjudged, this Sovereign too has been misrepresented by those who have made it their business to write the political history of our country. He is generally described as being wholly bad, and devoid of any decent quality as a man and as a Sovereign. Decency perhaps was not his strong point; but though it is not possible to esteem him as a man, George IV. was not a bad King. In his youth, as Prince of Wales, in spite of glaring follies and many vices, he possessed a certain charm. When a boy he had broken loose from the over-strict and over-judicious watchfulness of his parents. Kept in monotonous seclusion, cloistered within the narrow confines of a palace, fettered by an Oriental system of domestic spies, cut off from intercourse with the intellectual movement of the outer world, the royal children, warm-blooded and of rebellious spirit, ran secret riot after a fashion which modern memoirs have revealed in Borgian colours. It was a natural reaction of young animal life against unnatural and unhealthy restraint. The Prince of Wales, when he was eighteen years old, was unwillingly and perforce liberated. It followed, simply enough, that he became a source of constant grief and annoyance to his royal father. Not only were the canons of morality violated by him with little regard for the outward decorum due to his great position, but the young Prince plunged into a turgid sea of politics, and it was not long before he set forth as the nominal head of a faction bitterly opposed to the King's Ministers, and the head and front of personal offence to the King himself.

In the eyes of high society he was a Prince Charming, vicious if you will, a spendthrift and a rake, the embodiment of a reactionary spirit against the dulness and monotonous respectability of the Court. He was known to appreciate beautiful objects as well as beautiful faces. He was not altogether without literary culture. He appeared to be instinctively drawn to the arts and sciences with a full sense of the joy of patronage, and

he made it clear to every one that he welcomed the free intercourse of men of all ranks, provided that they possessed some originality of character or some distinction of mind. In Mr. Fox he found a willing mentor and an irresistible boon companion. Among that little group of Whigs of whom Sheridan was the ornament and the disgrace, he found precisely the atmosphere which suited him, so completely was it the antithesis of that in which his boyhood had been spent. As he grew older, the rose-tinted vices of his youth became grey and unlovely, while the shortcomings of his mind and his heart were more readily discerned; but much of his personal charm remained. In his most degenerate days, in the years of his regency and kingship, when he dragged into the public eye the indecencies of his domestic misfortunes and paraded his mistresses before the world, he still managed to retain a curious and genuine hold upon the affections of his Ministers. Although he possessed none of their regard, he was not altogether without some following among the people.

George IV.'s merits were a certain epicurean kindness of heart and a not ungenerous desire to give pleasure, coupled with a true sense of his constitutional position and a firm-drawn resolve to distinguish between his private predilections and his public duty. The nation owes him very little, but in any case it owes him this, that he was the first Sovereign since Charles I. who showed a blundering reverence for beautiful things. He enlarged and consolidated the artistic wealth of the nation. A life-long patron of artists, he fostered the growth of national art. He added largely to the splendid collections which now adorn Windsor and the metropolis. Whatever the final judgment passed upon him may be, both as a man and as a Sovereign, he must in strict justice be spared the unqualified contempt with which superior spirits, taking their cue from Thackeray, have treated him. It should weigh with every man who reads *The Four Georges* that King George IV. was

certainly liked, and was certainly not despised, by Sir Walter Scott. In his later years the old King displayed some little kindness to his niece, the young Princess Victoria, who had succeeded his own daughter as prospective heiress of England. If he saw her but rarely, he now and again betrayed knowledge of her existence, and once took her for a drive in his pony-carriage. There are still extant some short letters which she wrote to him in a large baby hand. In 1830 he died, and was succeeded by his brother the Duke of Clarence.

William IV. was the most fortunate of the children of George III. Thanks to his profession as a sea-officer, he escaped early from the stifling atmosphere of the Court, and had the glorious privilege of serving under the command of Hood and of Nelson. His sea service ended when he was only twenty-five years old. It left the usual dominant sea-mark upon his character. Like so many gallant sailors, his mind was untrained and ill-disciplined. His sense of duty was strong, though undiscerning. He was courageous and truthful. He had ten children by Mrs. Jordan born out of wedlock, but they were all well cared for and never disowned. He realised his constitutional duty sufficiently to see that he must yield to the expressed will of the nation, but he yielded so clumsily that all men believed him to be coerced. Wisely anxious to be well known and popular among his subjects, he chose the curious method of walking down St. James's Street dressed in long boots and spurs during the most crowded hour of the afternoon. His predecessor had lived the last years of his life in seclusion and silence; he determined therefore to give full scope to his naturally garrulous disposition. He talked in season and out of season with an irresponsibility which savoured of the quarter-deck, but wholly without the salt of the sea. By his Ministers he was regarded with kindness, although it cannot be said, in spite of Lord Grey's panegyric, that they held him in much respect. By the middle classes he was looked upon with amused and not unfriendly amazement. In the eyes of the masses he

was "Billy," their sailor-King, and among monarchical safeguards there are few stronger than a nickname and the aureole of the Navy.

William IV. married late in life Princess Adelaide of Saxe-Coburg-Meiningen, but the fates left him with no surviving children when he ascended the Throne in 1830. During his reign of seven years the King showed much kindness to the little niece who was clearly designated as his successor. Her mother, however, contrived to irritate him by giving too much prominence to the obvious fact of her daughter's heirship to the Throne. By "progresses" made on different occasions and undertaken with considerable ceremonial, the Duchess of Kent excited the wrath of the King, who made no attempt to conceal his annoyance, and took evident pleasure in the display of it at embarrassing moments in public. It was partly owing to the friction between her mother and King William and to the unpleasant atmosphere created in consequence of these quarrels, and partly to the presence in her mother's household of Sir John Conroy and his family—persons very distasteful to the young Princess—that Queen Victoria was in the habit of saying that her childhood had been a sad one. These Journals, begun in her fourteenth year, betray no sense of childish sorrow, and no reader can glean from them any confirmation of her statement that her early life was unhappy. It must be remembered, however, that this Journal was not a sealed book. It was not privately put away under lock and key and reserved only for the eye of the writer. The young Princess's Journals were commenced in a volume given to her by her mother for the express purpose that she should record the facts of her daily life, and that this record of facts and impressions should be open to the inspection of the child's governess as well as of her mother. It is natural, therefore, that the earlier volumes should contain very little beyond the obvious and simple things which any girl would be likely to write down if she were attempting to describe her life from day to day. When the Princess ascended the Throne

and assumed her queenly independence, the tone of the Journals changes at once. It becomes immediately clear to the reader that while the Princess's Journal was written for her mother, the Queen's Journal was written for herself. One of her earliest entries after her succession was to state her intention of invariably seeing her Ministers alone; and she might have added, had she thought it worth stating, that her Journal also would in future be seen by her alone.

Journals are often said to be useful to the historian. This theory is based on the assumption, hardly borne out by experience, that he who writes a journal writes what is true. A journal is supposed to record events, great or small, which are happening at the moment, and to convey impressions about personages with whom the writer comes in contact, or who loom sufficiently large to justify their being mentioned. When, however, it is remembered how inaccurate our information generally is, and how mistaken we often are about the character and motives even of those we know intimately, it is not surprising that the most brilliant diarist should frequently state facts which cannot be verified from other sources, and colour the personality of his contemporaries in a manner quite unjustifiable unless truth be deliberately sacrificed to the picturesque. The Journal of Charles Greville, perhaps the most famous of English modern journals, is full of gross inaccuracies in matters of fact and still grosser distortions of character. It is, nevertheless, a striking picture of the political and social world haunted by that persistent eavesdropper, and, like any well-written journal, throws a vivid and interesting light upon the character of the writer.

Similar criticisms apply to most famous memoirs, like Saint-Simon's or Lord Hervey's, written with a view to serving the historian of the future, and with the distinct purpose of giving bias to history.

They do not apply to these diaries of Queen Victoria. The Queen makes no attempt to analyse character or the meaning of events. She never strives after effect.

Her statements are just homely descriptions of everyday life and plain references to the people she meets at Kensington or at Windsor. If the young Princess sees a play that pleases her or hears a song that strikes her, she says so. If the Queen hears something that strikes her as original or quaint, the saying is put on record. She is not writing for the historian. She writes for her own pleasure and amusement, although there is always present to her mind a vague idea, common enough at the time, that to "keep a journal" is in some undefined way an act of grace.

The reader should not lose sight of the fact that these Journals are the simple impressions of a young girl, not twenty years old, about her own life and about the people she met. This constitutes their charm. She writes of her daily movements, and of the men and happenings that gave her pleasure. Either by nature or design, she avoided the mention of disagreeable things, so that these early Journals give one a notion of a life happily and simply led.

If they throw no new light on the history of the period, they will give to future generations an insight, of never-failing interest, into the character of the young Queen.

II

Princess Victoria's first Journal was commenced on August 1, 1832. She was thirteen years old. The first entry is made in a small octavo volume half bound in red morocco, of a very unpretentious kind.¹ On the first page there appear the words, "This book Mamma gave me, that I might write the journal of my journey to Wales in it.—Victoria, Kensington Palace, July 31."

The Duchess of Kent was at this time forty-six years of age. She had been a widow for twelve years. She was the fourth daughter of the Duke of Saxe-Coburg-

¹ In later years the volumes of the Queen's Journals were of larger size, but they were always simply bound in half calf or half morocco.

Saalfeld, and was first married to the Prince of Leiningen-Dachburg-Hadenburg. He was twenty-three years her senior. By him she had one son, Charles, often mentioned in these Journals, and one daughter, Feodorowna, subsequently married to Ernest, Prince of Hohenlohe-Langenburg.

Two years after her second marriage, to the fourth son of George III., the Duchess of Kent was left a widow for the second time. Crippled by the Duke's debts, that she was quite unable to pay,¹ with three young children on her hands, she was miserably poor. Her jointure yielded her an income of under £300. Her brother Leopold, then living at Claremont, came to her assistance, and made her an allowance of £3,000 a year.

In 1825, when it became evident that her daughter Princess Victoria would in all probability succeed to the Throne of England, Parliament voted an annuity of £6,000 to the Duchess, for the maintenance and education of her child, and this was increased after the accession of William IV.

The upbringing of her daughter became her absorbing occupation, and, shutting herself up in Kensington Palace, she devoted herself to the child's education.

The lessons of Princess Victoria's childhood were superintended by the Dean of Chester. Her education, judged by the standards of to-day, was not of an exceptionally high order. So far as can be gathered from her own childish records and from the correspondence and memoirs of those who had access to Kensington, she was taught the ordinary things which children are supposed to learn. Fortunately, perhaps, no effort of any special kind was made to train her mind or mould her character, with a view to the responsibilities which lay before her or to the position she appeared destined to fill. When, at a later stage, the Bishops of London and Lincoln were requested to draw up a report, for presentation to Parliament, upon her moral and intellectual attainments,

¹ They were ultimately paid by the Queen immediately after her accession.

they found no difficulty in giving credit to the Duchess of Kent for the conscientious manner in which she had endeavoured to educate the heiress to the Throne. We may, however, take leave to doubt whether those entrusted with the Princess's education were teachers endowed with any special aptitudes; and it is certain that the outlook of the Duchess herself, although practical and wise, was not of that discerning character which enabled her to differentiate between a commonplace education and its more subtle forms. It was precisely what might have been expected from one whose youth had been spent in a small German Court, and whose later opportunities had not brought her into contact with highly trained and thoughtful minds.

A foreign observer and critic once suggested a doubt whether the Queen could have maintained through life her admirable mental equilibrium if education had developed in her high intellectual curiosity or fantastic imagination. It is an interesting speculation. Soundness of judgment possibly rests upon the receptive rather than upon the creative faculties, and upon physical rather than upon intellectual activities. It may, as has been said, require a rare type of intelligence—that of Disraeli—to combine ideas and dreams with the realities of public life. In the domain of learning, Queen Victoria had very little in common with Elizabeth or with any Sovereign of the Renaissance. Her mother and the worthy Dean, who watched over her youth, were content to foster the quality of good sense, and to inculcate high standards of private and public virtue. Her future subjects, could they have been consulted, would have strongly approved. In after-years the English middle class recognised in the Queen a certain strain of German sentimentality which they affectionately condoned, and a robust equilibrium of mind which they thoroughly admired.

It is as well, therefore, that events took the shape they did, and that the mind and character of the Princess were trained upon simple lines in accordance with the

practice of the average citizen families subsequently to be her subjects. In years to come the Queen was perhaps better able to look at events and persons from the point of view of the majority of her people than would have been possible if her education had given her a high place among the intellectuals. It was a saving grace throughout her long reign that, while she could recognise intellect and capacity, her sympathies were with average people, whose feelings and opinions she more readily understood and in reality represented.

In these days, when Accomplishments, as they were called in the first half of the nineteenth century, are no longer esteemed in young people, and their place has been usurped by athletic exercises, it is difficult to describe, in a way that appeals to the serious imagination, the girlish tastes of Princess Victoria. In the thirties, music and painting and a knowledge of modern languages were the necessary equipment of a girl destined to move in Society. It mattered little how reedy and small the voice, she was expected to vocalise like Grisi and to sing duets with Mario.

The Queen had been well trained musically, according to the lights of those days. She could appreciate the simpler forms of melody, especially Italian opera, while she could sing and play sufficiently well to give much pleasure to herself and mild pleasure to others. As a linguist, as a reader, and as a writer of letters and memoranda she had no pretensions to pre-eminence ; but she could speak modern languages as well as any Queen is called upon to do, she could read and appreciate high literature, although not without effort, and she could express herself with pungency and vigour, although not with any marked literary skill or distinction of style.

Her drawings and water-colour sketches were through life a constant source of happiness to the Queen. There are at Windsor literally hundreds of small sketch-books, containing reminiscences of her journeys and sojournings in Scotland and in Italy, again not of high artistic merit, but sufficiently vital to suggest the reflection that a young

lady of to-day is possibly no gainer by having substituted the golf-club for the pencil.

The Queen's teachers were excellent, commonplace people, and they left precisely those traces on her mind that might have been expected. Her character was another matter. They could not and did not influence that, and it is the character of the Queen that places her in the small category of rulers who have not only deserved well of their country, but have left an indelible stamp upon the life of their people.

III

These Journals were commenced in the year 1832, a year memorable in our history for the fruition of hopes deeply cherished by the political party that had arisen, under the auspices of Canning, after the close of the struggle with Napoleon.

During the year when the first Reform Bill became the law of the land, the passions of men had been deeply stirred throughout Great Britain. The political struggle, begun seventeen years before, had come to a head. The classes still paramount had found themselves face to face with the desires and aspirations of classes hitherto subordinate to have a share in the government of the country. These feelings had grown fiercer year by year, and, encouraged by the Whig party headed by Earl Grey, had found ultimate expression in the Reform Bill of 1832, framed under the ægis of that Minister. All over Europe the stream of change and reform, loosed by the French Revolution and subsequently checked by the Congress of Vienna, began once more to flow. During the sixteen years that followed Princess Victoria's first entry in these Journals, the waters of Revolution had flooded Europe. Thrones and institutions in every European country were shaken, many of them to their foundations, and some with disastrous results. Fortunately for Great Britain, her statesmen had anticipated the events of 1848,

and the Reform Bill had so far satisfied the aspirations of the hitherto unenfranchised classes as to render innocuous the frothing of agitators during that tragic year of revolution. In aptitude for anticipating social and political change and avoiding violent manifestations of popular will, the English race stands pre-eminent. Our people as well as our statesmen have from the earliest times proved themselves to be experts in the art of government, and the history of Europe is a commentary upon that gift of the British nation.

There have, of course, been moments when the atmosphere of politics has been highly charged with electricity. Such a moment occurred in 1832. A storm broke with unusual violence over the head of William IV. The House of Lords was bitterly hostile to a Bill, accepted by the House of Commons and supported with enthusiasm by the majority of his subjects. There was no machinery existing under the Constitution for adjusting these differences except that of creating a sufficient number of Peers to ensure the passage of the Reform Bill through the House of Lords. The King therefore found himself in the unpleasant position of having to place his prerogative of creating Peers in the hands of his Ministers, or else by his own act to dispense with their services. The choice found him undecided and left him baffled. He was not acute enough to see that in the existing state of public opinion he had no choice. If he had possessed wit to read the signs of the times, it is doubtful whether he would have had sufficient single-minded courage to take immediate action in accordance with the opinion he had formed. Penetrating vision the King lacked, and responsibility was distasteful to him. Consequently he was not only weak, but he showed weakness. It was clear that the Government of Lord Grey held unimpaired the confidence of the House of Commons and possessed the full approval of the country. Every intelligent observer realised that the Reform Bill, in spite of its powerful foes, in spite of the prophets of evil, and in spite of its inherent defects, was bound to be passed into law. King

William, however, conceived it to be his duty to endeavour to find an alternative Government. It was as certain as anything could be in politics that Sir Robert Peel would not, and that the Duke of Wellington could not, come to his assistance. There was something pitiful about the spectacle of the old sailor-King casting about for a safe anchorage, and finding one cable parting after another. Security was only to be found in the Ministers who had advised him, in the last resort, to use his prerogative for purpose of swamping a majority in the House of Lords that hesitated to bow to the will of the people. Ultimately he was constrained to accept their advice, but it was only after a loss of personal dignity and a distinct weakening of the authority of the Crown. The King, men said, had touted about to find Ministers to serve him, and had failed to find them. This humiliation, at least, King William might have avoided had he possessed a clearer vision of possibilities and greater firmness of character.

The political storms of 1832 appear to have broken noiselessly against the walls of Kensington Palace, for in the little Princess's Journals there is no sign that she was aware of them. The King's worries, however, so affected his temper that it was impossible for the Princess and her mother not to feel its reflex action. In the Journals no mention is made of the domestic troubles which have been described elsewhere, and we know, from expressions of Queen Victoria's in later years, that she had purposely refrained, in compiling her Journals, from referring to her mother's worries and her own.

During the four years that immediately preceded Princess Victoria's accession to the Throne, from 1832 to 1836, these Journals give us the picture of a young life passed amid the tranquil surroundings of Kensington Palace, its educational monotony only varied by attendance at the opera or the theatre, by autumnal trips into the provinces, or by welcome visits from foreign cousins. These autumnal trips were the "royal progresses," as

he called them, against which King William was wont to protest in vehement language. They evidently gave intense pleasure to the Princess. Her Journals contain records of them all. Some examples have been given, in these extracts, of her method of describing her visits to provincial cities and towns, to seaside summer resorts, and to a few of the great homes of those who were afterwards to be her Ministers or subjects.

It was during this period that she got her first glimpse of the Isle of Wight, where so much of her life was afterwards to be spent. The fact that Sir John Conroy, whom she disliked, lived for many years at Osborne Lodge seems not to have prevented her from subsequently becoming deeply attached to that quiet home amid beautiful surroundings created by her and Prince Albert upon the site where Osborne Lodge had stood. Whippingham Church, to be so closely connected with her and her children, was first visited in the year 1833.

Enough has been included in these extracts to show her liking for the opera and for the theatre, her pleasure in music, her devotion to the pursuit of riding, and that love for animals which characterised her through life.

When she was sixteen she went to Ascot for the first time, and figured in the royal procession. It began to be recognised that the young Princess had passed the threshold of girlhood. In that year her Confirmation took place at the Chapel Royal, St. James's, and Archbishop Howley, believed to be the last prelate who wore a wig, officiated. During the autumn she visited Yorkshire and stayed with Archbishop Harcourt at Bishopthorpe and with Lord Fitzwilliam at Wentworth. Coming south, she was the guest of the Duke of Rutland at Belvoir, of Lord Exeter at Burghley, and of Lord Leicester at Holkham. In the following year, 1836, she met for the first time her cousin, Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg. He and his elder brother Ernest visited Kensington Palace at the instance of her uncle Leopold. The fact that Prince Albert had been thought of years before by the King of the Belgians as a possible husband for

Princess Victoria was sufficient to set King William IV. against the match. The King, however, was not uncivil to the brothers when they visited London, but he had ideas of his own about the future of his niece, and he tried hard to lay the foundations of an alliance between the young Princess and the younger son of the Prince of Orange. Prince Albert on this occasion made no deep impression upon Princess Victoria's mind or heart, but her loyalty to her uncle Leopold and her regard for his opinion led her to show the graceful young Coburg Prince marked preference over the somewhat ungainly candidate of King William. Her heart was clearly untouched, but she was willing to be guided by the advice of that counsellor and friend to whom in preference to every one she had already begun to turn for help and guidance. As this became obvious to King William, his jealousy and dislike for the Duchess of Kent increased, and in the autumn of this year, 1836, having invited his sister-in-law to a state banquet, he scandalised society by delivering an after-dinner speech charged with recrimination and insult to his guest.

This was the Princess's penultimate year as a minor. King William had for a long time been haunted with the fear that he would die before his niece came of age, and that a regency would devolve upon his hated sister-in-law. He was spared what he would have considered this final humiliation, for on May 24, 1837, the young Princess came of age, just a month before the King died at Windsor.

During the final years of her minority she was thrown freely into the society of many of the eminent and distinguished persons soon to be her subjects. The Duchess gave a series of entertainments at Kensington Palace, and the Princess was brought into contact with her mother's guests. Accounts of these dinners and concerts, and full lists of the guests, are all minutely recorded in the Journals. Comments, however, beyond an occasional expression of delight at the music and admiration for its performers, are excluded. Her life

was still the life of a child, and her days were mostly spent with her preceptors, under the auspices of the Duchess of Northumberland, her official governess, and of the Dean of Chester, her tutor.

She had been parted some years before from her half brother and sister by the usual exigencies of time. Prince Charles of Leiningen had become a sea-officer, and Princess Feodore was married. Into the inner orbit of her young life there penetrated only Sir John Conroy, whose person was odious to her, and Baroness Lehzen, the daughter of a Hanoverian clergyman, who had been the Princess's governess since 1824, and to whom she was deeply attached. Lablache, her singing-master, a man of some originality and charm, was a constant source of interest and amusement to the young Princess, and she preferred his lessons to all others.

It was during these last few years before her accession that the final touches were given to her character by the subtle influences of her environment. The position occupied by Sir John Conroy in her mother's house inspired and fortified her subsequent resolve to avoid intimacies with members of her household. She became distant and reserved to those about her, and her relations with her mother were chilled. Her mind acquired an impression that family ties, however binding from the point of view of duty, might be superseded by those of friendship. It is undoubtedly the case that Baroness Lehzen occupied at this time the first place in her pupil's thoughts and affections; while the dawning necessity felt by Princess Victoria for sympathy, and for those intimate communings so attractive to sentimental natures, had a very distinct influence upon the mind and conduct of the Queen in subsequent years. Her Journals afford proof, if proof had been wanting, that, in spite of the opinions of her attainments vouchsafed by eminent clerics, the Princess had not been afforded an education specially designed to fit her for the situation she was to occupy.

She was, at eighteen, as moderately and indifferently

equipped as the average girl of her age. If her conversation was not brilliant, her heart was kindly and her judgment sound. She was shrewd and eminently truthful. In spite of her small stature, she was curiously dignified and impressive. Her voice was musical and carried far. And, above all things, her rectitude was unassailable, and her sense of duty so keen and high that it supplied any lack of imagination or spiritual deficiency. She was humble-minded, but not, perhaps, very tender. She was passionate and imperious, but always faithful. She was supremely conscious of the responsibilities and prerogatives of her calling, which she was convinced, then and always, were her appanage by the gift of God.

There is nothing in her Journals or elsewhere to show that before she was eighteen years old she had ever talked seriously and at any length to any man or woman of exceptional gifts. It was only when her uncle King Leopold heard of the illness of William IV. that Stockmar was instructed to speak with due gravity upon important matters to the young girl whose accession to the Throne appeared imminent. Her mind at that time was a blank page in so far as questions of high politics or of administration were concerned. In point of fact, this was a fortunate circumstance, and rendered easier the task of those who were bound in the nature of things, and under the constitution of these islands, to use this youthful Princess as one of the chief instruments of government. Her mind was free from any political bias or complexion, and ready to receive the impress of her constitutional Ministers. When, within less than a month of her eighteenth birthday, King William died, and when on June 20, 1837, the Queen found herself face to face with those Whig statesmen in whose hands the destinies of the country had been placed for the time being, their task was unhampered by preconceived ideas or by foregone prejudice in their pupil. For the Queen a new chapter of life was opened. She at once threw off the trammels of pupillage. Not only was she able immedi-

ately and without effort to shake herself clear of the domestic influences she had resented and disliked, but for the first time she was enabled to meet and to question distinguished men, with whose names she was familiar, but whose standards of thought and conversation were far higher than any to which she had been accustomed.

IV

It was "in a palace in a garden, meet scene for youth and innocence," as one in later years to be her favoured Minister wrote, that Princess Victoria received the news of her accession to a Throne overlooking "every sea and nations in every zone." The scene and the circumstances in which her accession was announced to her by the Archbishop of Canterbury and Lord Conynghame are described by the Queen in her Journal. She has also recorded her impressions of what followed when for the first time she met the Privy Council. What the Queen has not described is the effect produced upon those present by her personality, her youthful charm, her self-possession and perfect modesty, in such strong contrast to everything which her Privy Councillors had been accustomed to find in their former Sovereigns. The Queen was not aware of the interest and curiosity she then excited in the minds of her subjects. She had been brought up in such comparative seclusion that both to "Society" and to the great world outside her character was an enigma, and even her appearance very little known. Her sex and youth rendered her personality exciting to a public satiated with the elderly vagaries of her uncles. It was noticed at her first Council that her manner was very graceful and engaging. It was particularly observed that after she had read her speech in a clear and singularly firm voice, when the two surviving sons of George III., the Dukes of Cumberland and Sussex, knelt before her, swearing allegiance, she blushed

up to the eyes, as if she felt the contrast between their public and private relations, between their august age and her inexperienced youth. It was also noticed that she spoke to no one, and that not the smallest difference in her manner could be detected, even by sharp watching eyes, between her attitude towards Lord Melbourne and the Ministers on the one hand, and towards the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel on the other. The Queen does not mention, for she was not then aware of it, that Lord Melbourne was charmed and Sir Robert Peel amazed at her demeanour. They spoke afterwards with emotion of her modesty, firmness, and evident deep sense of her situation. She did not know then, although she knew later, that the Duke of Wellington said that had she been his own daughter he could not have desired to see her perform her part better.

These Journals only accentuate what is already known from many sources, that the Queen showed in difficult circumstances not only good taste and good feeling, but admirable good sense. Her attention to details, which some might consider trifles, but which differentiate the careful from the thoughtless mind, was noticed with approval and surprise by her Ministers. She exhibited caution in her treatment of those persons who had been about her since childhood, and she made no appeal to any of them for advice or guidance. Nor did she permit advice to be proffered. Sir John Conroy was dismissed at once from her surroundings. Baroness Lehzen she retained, as before, about her person, and she speaks of her, throughout these Journals, with deep feeling. It was noticed, whenever she was asked to decide some difficult matter, her customary reply was that she would think it over, and give her answer on the morrow. Onlookers, knowing that she relied on the advice of Lord Melbourne, generally assumed that she referred to him in the interval. He, however, declared that to many of his questions a similar reply was given. In point of fact, she was obeying one of the precepts of her uncle, the King of the Belgians.

It will be obvious to the readers of this book that a potent influence over the mind and actions of the young Queen was exercised by Lord Melbourne. It was the natural outcome of the business relation between a very charming and experienced man of the world who happened to be her Prime Minister and a very young girl isolated in the solitary atmosphere of the Throne.

From the Queen's accession to the day of her marriage the table-talk of Lord Melbourne fills the largest space in her Journals. Her description of their intercourse confirms what we know from other sources, that Lord Melbourne became absorbed by the novel and striking duty that had fallen to his lot. His temperament and his antecedents rendered him peculiarly sensitive to the fascinating influences of the strange relation in which he stood to this young Queen. Lord Melbourne's life had been chequered by curious experiences, and his mind had been thoroughly well trained, for a man of his station, according to the lights of those days. A classical education, the privilege from youth upwards of free intercourse with every one worth knowing, the best Whig connection, and an inherited capacity for governing men under oligarchic institutions, had equipped his intellect and judgment with everything that was necessary to enable him carefully to watch and safeguard the blossoming of the character of the girl who was both his pupil and his Sovereign.

He was no longer young, but he was not old. His person was attractive. According to Leslie, no mean judge, his head was a truly noble one, and he was a fine specimen of manly beauty in the meridian of life. Not only were his features handsome, but his expression was in the highest degree intellectual. His laugh was frequent and the most joyous possible, his voice so deep and musical that to hear him say the most ordinary thing was a pleasure; and his frankness, his freedom from affectation, and his peculiar humour rendered almost everything he said, however easy and natural, quite original. Chantrey's bust and the well-known

portraits of Melbourne corroborate the descriptions given by his contemporaries.

The Queen's Journals afford us some illustrations of the extent of his memory and reading. In his knowledge of political history he was unsurpassed by any living Englishman, and among the statesmen of that day there were none by age, character, and experience so well qualified for the task of making the Queen acquainted with the art of government, or better able to give her a correct interpretation of the laws and spirit of the constitution. He understood perfectly the importance of training her to work straightforwardly but secretly with that small committee of active politicians, representing the parliamentary majority of the day, which goes by the name of the Cabinet. Sir Robert Peel and the Duke of Wellington, the Leaders of the Opposition, felt and admitted that for her initiation into the mysteries of Kingcraft, the Queen could not have been in wiser hands. It will be obvious from these Journals that the Queen drifted into political partisanship. She lived in dread of losing her Whig Ministers, and she got "to hate" the Tories. This only meant—and under all the circumstances it was natural—that she ardently desired to retain her mentor at her side. It is to the credit of Lord Melbourne that he was constantly discouraging his Sovereign's bias towards the Whig Party, of which he was the head, and that he never lost an opportunity of smoothing the way for the advent of Sir Robert Peel which he knew to be inevitable. He was, not inaptly, called a *Regius Professor* with no professorial disqualifications, and it was precisely from this point of view that the Tory leaders recognised the indispensable nature of his task, and approved his manner of performing it. He was a Whig no doubt, says his biographer, but at any rate he was an honest-hearted Englishman, and, in no merely conventional sense, a gentleman on whose perfect honour no one hesitated to place reliance.

He treated the Queen with unbounded consideration

and respect, yet he did not hesitate to administer reproof. He consulted her tastes and her wishes, but he checked her inclination to be headstrong and arbitrary. He knew well how to chide with parental firmness, but he did so with a deference that could not fail to fascinate any young girl in a man of his age and attainments. The Queen was completely under his charm. The ease of his frank and natural manners, his quaint epigrams and humorous paradox, his romantic bias and worldly shrewdness, were magnified by her into the noblest manly virtues.

He saw her every day, but never appeared to weary of her society. She certainly never tired of his. Yet he was fifty-eight years old, a time-worn politician, and she was a girl of eighteen. He was her confidential servant and at the same time her guardian. She was his ward and at the same time his Sovereign. The situation was full of the possibilities of drama, yet nothing can be more delightful than the high comedy revealed in the passages of the Journals that refer to Lord Melbourne. That he should have happened to be the First Minister of the Crown when King William died was a rare piece of good fortune for the new Sovereign and for the country. With all the immense powers of head and heart which the Queen came later to discover in Sir Robert Peel, we may take leave to doubt if he could so lightly and so wisely have assumed and fulfilled the duties imposed upon his predecessor.

It is impossible to exaggerate the effect produced upon the mind and character of the Queen by the apostolic letters of her uncle. Even the sound constitutional dogma of Stockmar might have failed to influence one naturally inclined to be autocratic. Those, however, who were to reap the profit in later years of the shrewd daily culture of the Queen's mind, of the skilful pruning away of ideas dangerous in a British Sovereign, of the respectful explanation of her duties, of the humorous rallying upon slight weaknesses which might have developed into awkward habits, were deeply indebted, as these Journals show, to the sagacity of Lord Melbourne.

V

Two Queens Regnant, Queen Mary and Queen Anne, both of Stewart blood, lived much at Kensington Palace, and both died there. As a place of residence it had no attractions for the Sovereigns of the House of Hanover. Queen Victoria was fond of the old wing in which her youth had been spent, and which was subsequently occupied for many years by the Duchess of Teck and her children. Built on piles, those portions of the Palace that were uninhabited, and therefore indifferently looked after, had towards the end of the Queen's reign fallen into such disrepair that their demolition had been decided upon by the Treasury. The Queen disliked intensely the idea of removing any part of the old building. Ultimately a bargain was made with the Chancellor of the Exchequer of the day. It involved a certain exchange of houses in the gift of the Crown and some shifting of financial responsibility. Kensington Palace was saved and a considerable sum was voted by Parliament for its restoration, on condition that the public should be admitted to certain rooms of historic interest.

King George's dream, long ago abandoned, was to reconstruct Kensington Palace as the town residence for the Sovereign.

The place is full of memories for Queen Mary, and, because of her keen historic sense, full of interest.

Compared with most of the great European capitals, London is poor in palaces. The homes of the Tudor Sovereigns in and near the metropolis, Nonsuch, Greenwich, and Whitehall, have disappeared. London contains no single palace residentially associated with our long line of Sovereigns. The Court of St. James was housed, in the eighteenth century, in the Palace of that name. It seems to have been adequate for the needs of the Hanoverian Princes, who had none of the amplitude of the Tudors or the fine taste of the Stewarts.

The memories of Windsor, however, are long memories. Although Queen Victoria never liked Windsor, perhaps because she was never in good health there, it is with Windsor Castle that the principal events of her reign are associated. The thoughts of the few, the very few, comparatively speaking, of her subjects who were admitted to the seclusion of court life during two-thirds of the Queen's reign may carry them back to quiet days at Balmoral or Osborne; but it was round Windsor that the political interest of the Victorian era centred. There the links of the chain have remained unsevered between the Sovereigns of Great Britain to-day and their Plantagenet ancestors.

If the Queen's attachment to Windsor was not deep, she was more indifferent still to Buckingham Palace. There is not a word in her Diaries or correspondence to show that she in any way looked upon it as a home or even a residence in any degree interesting or attractive. No attempt was made, after the death of the Prince Consort, to improve or beautify it. The magnificent objects of art and the splendid collection of pictures were badly displayed and quite unappreciated. Few, outside the circle of the Court, knew of their existence. The Palace was judged by its then mean façade, and the nation was shamefaced about the home of its Sovereign, and certainly took no credit for the really noble rooms and their contents which Buckingham Palace contains.

Yet, through the picture-gallery of this Palace hung with masterpieces of the Dutch School, through the throne-room and the drawing-room resplendent with the royal portraits of Reynolds and Gainsborough, or through the matchless corridor at Windsor, have passed nearly all the great figures of the nineteenth century, practically the whole of which was spanned by the life of the Queen.

It is an imposing array, worthy of its setting. Heroes and statesmen, men of science and letters, artists and scholars, all moved, with a feeling of awe, into the presence of the Queen whose girlhood is recounted by herself in these pages.

To those accustomed to the easier manners of more recent times it is difficult to convey a sense of the atmosphere of Windsor during the reign of the Queen. Her extraordinary aloofness was its determining cause, but the effect was that of a shrine. Grave men walked softly through the rooms of the Castle, and no voice was ever raised. The presence of the Sovereign brooded, so to speak, over the Palace and its environment. The desire to be negligently at ease never entered the mind. The air was rarefied by a feeling that somewhere, in a region unvisited by any but the most highly privileged, was seated, not in an ordinary arm-chair, but on a throne, the awe-inspiring and ever-dignified figure of the Sovereign. The proud intellect of Gladstone and the rugged self-sufficiency of Bright bent before the small, homely figure in widow's weeds. In spite of this homeliness of appearance, notwithstanding her love of simplicity and her dislike of tawdriness and display, her spirit never put aside the regal habit. How rarely the Queen extended her hand! It was a great privilege, and only on special occasions vouchsafed to her Ministers. Men and women bent very low to kiss that hand. This was not due to her small stature, but to the curious, indefinable awe that she undoubtedly inspired during the later portion of her life in all who approached her. Will the reader find, in these records of her girlhood, intimations of that moral ascendancy she afterwards acquired over her subjects?

It was unquestionably a triumph of character. Even now to attempt a serious estimate of the intellectual capacity of Queen Victoria is a difficult task. There are too many still among us the greater part of whose lives were spent under her sway. It is a fault in nearly all recent biographies that they attempt appreciations which only the lapse of time can enable a writer to draw in true perspective.

A venerable Sovereign,¹ in full possession of his great

¹ 1914; the Emperor Francis Joseph.

powers of intellect and character, who was almost an exact contemporary, still rules a European people as proud of him as were her subjects of the Queen. One of her faithful servants, who was present at her Coronation seventy-six years ago and at every great ceremonial throughout her reign, has only just passed away.¹ Her children are in the prime of life, and her favourite grandson is the beloved Sovereign of the people she governed. Unqualified praise is always distasteful, and critical analysis may easily prove to be in singularly bad taste. Queen Victoria's womanly and royal virtues are written in golden letters upon the face of the vast Empire over which she reigned. Her faults may well lie buried, for some time yet, in her grave under the shadow of Windsor.

¹ 1914; the Earl of Wemyss.

CHAPTER I

1833—1836

Friday, 24th May.—To-day is my birthday. I am to-day fourteen years old! How *very old*!! I awoke at $\frac{1}{2}$ *past* 5 and got up at $\frac{1}{2}$ *past* 7. I received from Mamma a lovely hyacinth brooch and a china pen tray. From Uncle Leopold a very kind letter, also one from Aunt Louisa and sister Feodora. I gave Mamma a little ring. From Lehzen I got a pretty little china figure, and a lovely little china basket. I gave her a golden chain and Mamma gave her a pair of earrings to match. From my maids, Frances and Caroline, I also got little trifles of their own work. From Sir Robert Gardiner,¹ a china plate with fruit. From Victoria and Emily Gardiner, two screens and a drawing done by them. From the Dean, some books. My brother Charles's present was not ready. At about $\frac{1}{2}$ *past* 10 came Sir John and his three sons. From Sir John² I received a very pretty picture of Dash, very like, the size of life. From Jane, Victoire, Edward, Stephen, and Henry, a very pretty enamel watch-chain. From Lady Conroy a sandalwood pincushion and needlecase. From Victoire alone, a pair of enamel earrings. The Duchess of Gordon sent me a lovely little crown of precious stones, which plays "God save the King," and a china basket. At 12 came the Duchess of Northumberland (who gave me an

¹ General Sir Robert Gardiner was Principal Equerry to Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg at his marriage with Princess Charlotte.

² Sir John Conroy, Comptroller to the Duchess of Kent.

ivory basket filled with the work of her nieces), Lady Charlotte St. Maur a beautiful album with a painting on it; Lady Catherine Jenkinson a pretty night-lamp. Lady Cust, a tray of Staffordshire china. Sir Frederick Wetherall, two china vases from Paris. Doctor Maton,¹ a small cedar basket. Lady Conroy, Jane, Victoire, Sir George Anson, Sir John, and the Dean came also. Lady Conroy brought Bijou (her little dog) with her, and she gave me a little sweet smelling box. They stayed till $\frac{1}{2}$ past 12. Victoire remained with us. I gave her a portrait of Isabel, her horse. At 1 we lunched. Victoire stayed till $\frac{1}{2}$ past 2. At $\frac{1}{2}$ past 2 came the Royal Family. The Queen gave me a pair of diamond earrings from the King. She gave me herself a brooch of turquoises and gold in the form of a bow. Aunt Augusta² gave me a box of sandal-wood. From Aunt Gloucester,³ Aunt Sophia, and Uncle Sussex, a féronière of pearls. From Aunt Sophia⁴ alone, a bag worked by herself. From the Duke of Gloucester, a gold inkstand. From the Duke and Duchess of Cumberland, a bracelet of turquoise; and the Duchess brought me a turquoise pin from my cousin George Cumberland. From Princess Sophia Mathilda, a blue topaz watch-hook. From George Cambridge,⁵ a brooch in the shape of a lily of the valley. Lady Mayo,⁶ who was in waiting on the Queen, gave me a glass bottle. They stayed till $\frac{1}{2}$ past 3 and then went away. I had seen in the course of the day, Sarah, my former maid, and Mrs. Brock. Ladies Emma and Georgiana Herbert⁷ sent me a sachet for handkerchiefs worked by

¹ W. G. Maton, M.D., Physician to the Duchess of Kent and Princess Victoria.

² 1768-1840. Daughter of George III.

³ Mary, fourth daughter of George III. and wife of William Frederick, Duke of Gloucester, her cousin.

⁴ 1777-1848. Daughter of George III.

⁵ George (1819-1904), afterwards Duke of Cambridge and Commander-in-Chief. He was two months older than the Princess.

⁶ Arabella, wife of the fourth Earl, a Lady-in-waiting to Queen Adelaide.

⁷ Daughters of the eleventh Earl of Pembroke. Lady Emma afterwards married the third Viscount de Vesci, and Lady Georgiana the fourth Marquess of Lansdowne.

themselves. Ladies Sarah and Clementina Villiers¹ sent me some flowers as combs and a brooch. Mr. Collen sent me a little painting for my album. At a $\frac{1}{4}$ to 6 we dined.

Monday, 1st July.—I awoke at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 4 and got up at a $\frac{1}{4}$ past 5. At a $\frac{1}{4}$ past 6 we all breakfasted. At 7 o'clock we left Kensington Palace, Sir John going in a post-chaise before us, then our post-chaise, then Lehzen's landau, then my Cousins' carriage, then Charles's,² then Lady Conroy's, and then our maids'. It is a lovely morning. 5 minutes past 8—we have just changed horses at Esher. At 4 we arrived at Portsmouth. The streets were lined with soldiers, and Sir Colin Campbell³ rode by the carriage. Sir Thomas Williams,⁴ the Admiral, took us in his barge, on board the *dear Emerald*. The Admiral presented some of the officers to us. We stayed about $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour waiting for the baggage to be put on board the steamer, which was to tow us. We then set off and arrived at Cowes at about 7. We were most civilly received. Cowes Castle, the yacht-club, yachts, &c., &c., saluting us. We saw Lord Durham⁵ who is staying at Cowes. We drove up in a fly to Norris Castle, where we lodged two years ago, and where we are again living. My cousins and my brother were *delighted* with it. At about $\frac{1}{2}$ past 7 we all dined. Lady Conroy and her family went to their cottage after dinner. . . .

¹ Daughters of the fifth Earl of Jersey. Lady Sarah afterwards married Prince Nicholas Esterhazy. Lady Clementina died unmarried in 1858.

² Charles, Prince of Leiningen, son of the Duchess of Kent by her first marriage.

³ Major-General Sir Colin Campbell (1776–1847), at this time Lieut.-Governor of Portsmouth and afterwards Governor of Ceylon. He had served with distinction in the Peninsular War and had received the Gold Cross and 6 clasps.

⁴ Admiral Williams had rendered valuable services in conjunction with the army in the Low Countries, 1794–5; he became G.C.B. in 1831.

⁵ John George Lambton (1792–1840), the first Baron (and afterwards first Earl of) Durham, son-in-law of Lord Grey, had been Ambassador to St. Petersburg, and was now Lord Privy Seal. Lord Melbourne sent him subsequently to Canada at a critical juncture in the history of British North America. The Ministry afterwards recalled him, but the report which he presented on Canadian affairs is regarded as having laid the foundations of all colonial self-government. He was a statesman of noble, unstained character; but his high-strung temperament made life difficult both for him and his colleagues.

Monday, 8th July.—At about 10 we went on board the *Emerald* with Alexander,¹ Ernst,¹ Lady Charlotte, Lady Conroy, Jane, Victoire, Sir John and Henry. We were towed up to Southampton by the *Medina* steam-packet. It rained several times very hard, and we were obliged to go down into the cabin very often. When we arrived at Southampton, Mamma received an address on board from the Corporation. We then got into the barge and rowed up to the new pier. The crowd was tremendous. We went into a tent erected on the pier, and I was very much frightened for fear my cousins and the rest of our party should get knocked about; however they at last got in. We then got into our barge and went on board the *Emerald* where we took our luncheon. We stayed a little while to see the regatta, which was going on, and then sailed home. It was a very wet afternoon. At 7 we dined. Lady Conroy, Jane, Victoire, Sir John, and Henry dined here. . . .

Friday, 12th July.—I awoke at 6 and got up at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 6. At 7 we breakfasted. It was a *sad* breakfast, for us indeed, as my dear cousins were going so soon. At about a $\frac{1}{4}$ to 8 we walked down our pier with them and there took leave of them, which made us both VERY UNHAPPY. We saw them get into the barge, and watched them sailing away for some time on the beach. They were so amiable and so pleasant to have in the house; they were *always satisfied, always good humoured*; Alexander took such care of me in getting out of the boat, and rode next to me; so did Ernst. They talked about *such interesting things*, about their Turkish Campaign, about Russia, &c., &c. We shall miss them at *breakfast, at luncheon, at dinner, riding, sailing, driving, walking, in fact everywhere*.

About two hours after my cousins had gone, Mamma received the distressing news that my cousins' father, the Duke Alexander of Würtemberg,² who had been ill for some time, was dead. I was extremely sorry for

¹ Sons of Alexander, Duke of Würtemberg.

² He was sixty-two years of age.

them. Mamma immediately dispatched an estafette after them to Dover with the news.

Thursday, 18th July.—At a $\frac{1}{4}$ to 10 we went on board the *Emerald* with Lady Charlotte, Lady Conroy, Jane, Victoire, Lehzen, and Sir John, and were towed by the *Messenger* steam-packet up to Portsmouth. We then got into the Admiral's barge, and landed in the docks. We then saw from an elevation, the launch of the *Racer*, a sloop of war. We then re-entered the Admiral's barge and went to the *Victory*, his flag-ship. We there received the salute on board. We saw the spot where Nelson fell, and which is covered up with a brazen plate and his motto is inscribed on it, "Every Englishman is expected to do his duty." We went down as low as the tanks, and there tasted the water which had been in there for two years, and which was excellent. We also saw the place where Nelson died. The whole ship is remarkable for its neatness and order. We tasted some of the men's beef and potatoes, which were excellent, and likewise some grog.

Friday, 2nd August.—I awoke at about a $\frac{1}{4}$ to 6 and got up at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 7. At $\frac{1}{2}$ past 8 we all breakfasted. We then saw several ladies and gentlemen. At about $\frac{1}{2}$ past 9 we went on board the *dear little Emerald*. We were to be towed up to Plymouth. Mamma and Lehzen were very sick, and I was sick for about $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour. At 1 I had a hot mutton chop on deck. We passed Dartmouth. At about 4 we approached Plymouth Harbour. It is a magnificent place and the breakwater is wonderful indeed. You pass Mount Edgumbe, the seat of Lord Mount Edgumbe.¹ It is beautifully situated. The Admiral, Sir William Hargood,² Captain Falkland his flag-captain, and Mr. Yorke³ came on board. Captain Brown, who is on board the *Caledonia*, and Captain

¹ Richard (1764–1839), second Earl, Lord Lieutenant of Cornwall.

² Sir William Hargood had commanded the *Belleisle* under Nelson at Trafalgar, becoming an Admiral and G.C.B. in 1831.

³ Captain Charles Philip Yorke, R.N., then M.P. for Cambs., afterwards fourth Earl of Hardwicke.

Macay, on board the *Revenge*, also came on board. As we entered the harbour, our dear little *Emerald* ran foul of a hulk, her mast broke and we were in the *greatest danger*. Thank God! the mast did not fall and no one was hurt. But I was *dreadfully* frightened for *Mamma* and for *all*. The poor dear *Emerald* is very much hurt I fear. Saunders was not at all in fault; he saved us by pulling the rope which fixed us to the steamer. We arrived at Plymouth at 5. It is a beautiful town and we were very well received. *Sweet Dash* was under Saunders's arm the whole time, but he never let him drop in all the danger. At 7 we dined. The hotel is very fine indeed. After dinner Sir John saw Saunders, who said that the mast of the *Emerald* was broken in two places, and that we had had the *narrowest escape possible*; but that she would be repaired and ready for us to go back in her on Tuesday.

Saturday, 3rd August.—At $\frac{1}{2}$ past 11 Mamma received an address from the Mayor and Corporation of Plymouth, downstairs in a large room full of people. At 12 we went with all our own party to a review of the 89th, the 22nd, and the 84th regiments. Mamma made a speech, and I then gave the colours to the 89th regiment. The names of the two Ensigns to whom I gave the colours are Miles and Egerton. We then saw them march by in line. We then went to the Admiral's house where we had our luncheon, and then proceeded to the docks. We went in the Admiral's barge on board the Admiral's flag-ship, the *St. Joseph*, taken by Lord Nelson from the Spanish, in the battle of St. Vincent. We received a salute on board. She is a magnificent vessel of 120 guns. We saw her lower decks and cabins, which are extremely light, airy, roomy and clean. We then returned in the Admiral's barge, rowed round the *Caledonia* 120 guns, and the *Revenge* 76 guns. We landed at the Dock-yard and went home. At 7 we dined. . . .

End of my third Journal-book. Norris Castle, August 11th, 1833. . . .

Monday, 16th September.—At 10 we went on board the

Emerald with Lady Catherine, Lady Conroy, Jane, Lehzen, Victoire, and Sir John, and sailed to Portsmouth, where we were going to pay a visit to their Majesties the Queen of Portugal¹ and the Duchess of Braganza (her step-mother). We got there at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 11. We entered the Admiral's barge with Lady Catherine, Lady Conroy, Lehzen, and Sir John, and were rowed ashore. We landed at the stairs in the dockyard. Mamma and I got into a close carriage, and our ladies followed in an open carriage. The whole way from the dock-yard to the Admiral's house, where their Majesties reside, was lined with troops and various bands were placed at different distances. We were received at the door by the gentlemen and ladies of the court. Inside the hall we were met by the Queen and the Duchess. The Queen led Mamma, and the Duchess followed leading me into the room. The Queen was in England 4 years ago; she is only a month older than I am and is very kind to me. She was then already very tall for her age, but had a very beautiful figure; she is grown very tall but also very stout. She has a beautiful complexion, and is very sweet and friendly. She wore her hair in two large curls in front and a thick fine plait turned up behind. The Empress (or Duchess as she is now called) was never before in England. She is only 21 and is very pleasing. She has beautiful blue eyes, and has a fine tall figure. She has black hair and wore ringlets in front and a plait behind. She was simply dressed in a grey watered moire trimmed with blonde.

Monday, 14th October.— . . . Ferdinand the 7th of

¹ Donna Maria da Gloria, then aged about fourteen. She was the daughter of Dom Pedro, who had been proclaimed Emperor of Brazil in the lifetime of his father, John VI., and abdicated the throne of Portugal in favour of Donna Maria. Dom Miguel, a younger brother of Pedro, claimed the throne. Pedro had designed a marriage between Donna Maria and Miguel, who in 1827 had been appointed Regent, but, having been himself driven from Brazil by a revolution, Pedro endeavoured to gain the throne decisively for his daughter. His second wife, now known as Duchess of Braganza, was sister to Augustus, Duke of Leuchtenberg, who at the age of twenty-five had married Donna Maria, then barely sixteen, and died two months later.

Spain¹ died on the 29th of September, and his young and lovely Queen Christina instantly became Regent for the infant Queen Isabella the 2nd, her daughter, and who is only 3 years old. The Queen has a powerful enemy in Don Carlos and his wife, but she is very courageous and very clever. It is a singular coincidence that there should be a young Queen in Spain as well as in Portugal.

Thursday, 26th December.—At $\frac{1}{2}$ past 2 came Captain Burnes who has lately travelled over Northern East India. He gave us some very interesting accounts. He likewise brought with him to show us, his servant, a native of Cabul, dressed in his native dress. He is called Gulam Hussein; is of a dark olive complexion and had a dress of real Cashmere made in the beautiful valley of Cashmere.

1834

Thursday, 16th January, 1834.—About a fortnight or three weeks ago I received the Order of Marie Louisa, accompanied by a very flattering letter from Her Majesty the Queen Regent of Spain, in the name of her daughter Queen Isabel II. . . . The Order is a violet and white ribbon, to which is suspended (*en négligé*) an enamel sort of star, and in high dress one superbly studded with diamonds.²

Thursday, 5th June.—At 11 arrived my DEAREST sister Feodora whom I had not seen for 6 years. She is accompanied by Ernest,³ her husband, and her two eldest

¹ The death of Ferdinand without male issue caused a disputed succession in Spain. His brother Don Carlos relied on the Salic Law as established by the Pragmatic Sanction of 1711, which Ferdinand had revoked. Don Carlos and Dom Miguel subsequently entered into an alliance, while the young Queens Maria and Isabella mutually recognised each other, and were supported by England and France.

² This was the first of many Foreign Orders received by Queen Victoria. They have been carefully collected and arranged by King George and Queen Mary, and are displayed in Queen Mary's Audience-room in Windsor Castle.

³ Prince of Hohenlohe-Langenburg.

children Charles and Eliza. Dear Feodora looks very well but is grown much stouter since I saw her. She was married on the 18th of February 1828 and went away to Germany a week after and she never came here again since. Hohenlohe looks also very well. As for the children they are the DEAREST little loves I ever saw. Charles is 4 years and a half old. He is very tall and is a sweet good-tempered little fellow. He is not handsome but he is a very nice-looking boy. He has light blue eyes and fair hair. Eliza is 3 years and a half old; she is also very tall and is a *perfect* little beauty. She has immense dark brown eyes and a very small mouth and light brown hair. She is very clever and amusing.

ST. LEONARDS, *Wednesday, 4th November*.—I said in my last journal book that I would describe in this book all what passed yesterday. We reached Battle Abbey at about a $\frac{1}{4}$ to 1. We were received at the door by Lady Webster.¹ Battle Abbey was built by King William the Conqueror and stands on the site where the famous battle of Hastings was fought. The place is still preserved where Harold fell. She showed us first into a large hall supposed to be the highest in England. There are portraits of King Charles the 2nd, King William the 3rd, and Queen Anne in it, &c. &c. There is also a very large picture of the battle of Hastings. Some old suits of armour are also in the hall. We saw also what were the cloisters now turned into a room. We saw the Beggars' Hall, a curious walk of the monks, and the garden. We lastly partook of some refreshment in a very pretty room in which there was a picture of the Emperor Napoleon, not full length, only to the waist; which is said to be very like. The outside of the abbey is very fine too. We left it again at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 1. The tenants again accompanied us till Broadeslowe. There some gentlemen from Hastings

¹ Charlotte, daughter of Robert Adamson of Westmeath and wife of Sir Godfrey Vassal Webster, of Battle Abbey, formerly M.P. for Sussex. Sir Godfrey's mother, Elizabeth Vassal, eloped from her husband with Lord Holland, and was the famous "Old Madagascar" of Holland House coteries.

met us and accompanied us to St. Leonards. We passed under an arch formed of laurels and decorated with flowers and inscriptions. As soon as we passed the 2nd arch the Mayor got out of his carriage and came to our door asking leave to precede us in his carriage. An immense concourse of people walking with the carriage. The mayor and aldermen preceding us in carriages as also a band of music. Throughout Hastings the houses were decorated with flowers, ribands and inscriptions, and arches of flowers and laurels. Ladies and children waving handkerchiefs and laurels on the balconies and at the windows. Cries of "Welcome, welcome, Royal visitors," were constantly heard. We reached Hastings at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 2, and it was 4 o'clock before we arrived at our house at St. Leonards. It was indeed a most splendid reception. We stepped out on the balcony and were loudly cheered. Six fishermen in rough blue jackets, red caps and coarse white aprons, preceded by a band, bore a basket ornamented with flowers, full of fish as a present for us.

Tuesday, 11th November.— . . . At $\frac{1}{2}$ past 11 we went out driving in the barouche with Lady Flora¹ and Lehzen. We got out and walked and sent the barouche home. We afterwards got into the close landau with a postilion and horse in hand. As we came to the commencement of the town where a seminary is to be built, the hand-horse kicked up and getting entangled in the traces fell down, pulling the other with it; the horse with the postilion however instantly recovered itself but the other remained on the ground kicking and struggling most violently. Two gentlemen very civilly came and held the horse's head down while we all got out as fast as possible. I called for poor dear little Dashy who was in the rumble; Wood (our footman) took him down and I ran on with him in my arms calling Mamma to follow, Lehzen and Lady Flora followed us also. They then cut the traces, the horse still struggling violently. The other horse which had

¹ Lady Flora Hastings, Lady of the Bedchamber to the Duchess of Kent.

been quite quiet, being frightened by the other's kicking, backed and fell over into a foundation pit, while Wood held him, and he (Wood) with difficulty prevented himself from falling; the horse recovering himself ran after us and we instantly ran behind a low stone wall; but the horse went along the road, and a workman took him and gave him to Wood. The other horse had ceased kicking and got up. We ought to be *most grateful* to Almighty God for His merciful providence in thus preserving us, for it was a *very narrow escape*. Both Wood and Bacleberry behaved very well indeed. The names of the two gentlemen who held the horse's head are Rev. Mr. Gould and Mr. Peckham Micklethwaite.¹ The latter I am sorry to say was hurt, but not very materially. The poor horse is cut from head to foot; but the other is not at all hurt only very much frightened. We walked home. . . .

Tuesday, 2nd December.—We received this morning the news that my poor Uncle, the Duke of Gloucester,² was dead. He expired on Sunday evening, the 30th of November, 1834, at 20 minutes to 7. I am very sorry that we have lost him as he was always a *most affectionate* and *kind* Uncle to me. Aunt Mary, I hear, bears her loss wonderfully. Poor Aunt Sophia Matilda, his only sister and who was excessively fond of him, is dreadfully distressed at losing her only brother.

1835

Monday, 5th January, 1835.—I quite forgot to mention that on the morning of the 20th of November a ship laden with either coal or chalk sank, but all the crew came off safe. Lieutenant Gilley and five men put off in a boat

¹ He was made a baronet in 1838 for this act.

² William Frederick (1776-1834), second Duke, was the son of William Henry, first Duke, by Maria, Countess-Dowager Waldegrave, illegitimate daughter of Edward Walpole, a younger son of the great Minister. The Duke was an inoffensive man of quiet and mild disposition, familiarly known as "Silly Billy." He married his cousin, Princess Mary, daughter of George III. He was proud of his rank, but of little else. See *ante*, p. 32.

from the 3rd Martello Tower, in hopes of being able to save some of the goods of the sunken ship. The sea was very high, the boat slight and over-loaded, and they had scarcely left the shore when the boat was upset and they were *all six drowned!* The poor sister of the Lieutenant is residing here. Three of the poor men were married and left their poor widows (all young) plunged in the greatest grief. The body of Weeks, one of the married men and who had 3 children, was found two days after, at Pevensey. The poor Lieutenant's body was only found last Sunday, the 28th December, quite near here; and one of the other married men, called Conely, who had 4 children, was found the next morning near Hastings; and Andrews, the last married man, who had only been married a very short time, was found on Wednesday night, the 31st December, in the same place. It was a great gratification to the poor widows that their husbands' bodies have been found. We saw two of them at a distance the other day. They are all very decent-looking, tidy and nice people.

Thursday, 29th January.—At a $\frac{1}{4}$ to 9 we left St. Leonards. Dear Lehzen, Lady Flora, Lady Conroy &c. following in another carriage. All our acquaintances were out to see us go (except Mr. and Lady Mary Dundas). . . . For some reasons I am sorry we have left St. Leonards, which are, the nice walks, the absence of fogs, and looking out of my window and seeing the people walk on the esplanade, and seeing the sun rise and set, which was quite beautiful. The rising began by the sky being quite pink and blending softly into a bright blue, and the sun rose by degrees from a little red streak to a ball of red copper. The setting began by the whole horizon being orange, crimson and blue, and the sun sunk down a ball of fiery gold dyeing the sands crimson. But then again my reasons for *not* being sorry to go are, my not sleeping well there, my not having been well, and the roaring of the sea. We changed horses first at Battle, then at Stony Crouch, then at Woodgate, which was quite near *dear* Tunbridge, then at Sevenoaks, and

lastly at Bromley. We reached Kensington Palace at 5. My room is very prettily newly papered, newly furnished, and has a new carpet, and looks very pretty indeed. Our bedroom also newly papered and furnished and looks very nice and clean. Pedro and my dear little wax-bills came quite safe. Dear Dashy was in our carriage and behaved like a darling. . . .

Sunday, 24th May.—Today is my 16TH birthday! How very old that sounds; but I feel that the two years to come till I attain my 18th are the most important of any almost. I now only begin to appreciate my lessons, and hope from this time on, to make great progress. I awoke at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 6. Mamma got up soon after and gave me a lovely brooch made of her own hair, a letter from herself, one from dearest Feodore with a nosegay, and a drawing and a pair of slippers done by her. I gave her a drawing I had done. Dear Lehzen gave me a lovely little leather box with knives, pencils &c. in it, two small dictionaries and a very pretty print of Mdle. Taglioni. Mamma gave her a pair of amethyst earrings and I gave her a penholder and a drawing done by myself. My maids Frances and Caroline gave me a pincushion done by Frances and a portefolio done by Caroline. Anne Mason (Lehzen's maid) gave a small flower vase with flowers. *Dashy* gave an ivory basket with barley-sugar and chocolate. At 9 we breakfasted. I then received my table. From my DEAR Mamma I received a lovely enamel bracelet with her hair, a pair of fine china vases, a lovely shawl and some English and Italian books. From dearest Feodore a lovely enamel bracelet with hers and the children's hair; from Charles some pretty prints; from Späth a very pretty case for handkerchiefs embroidered in silver; from Sir Robert and Lady Gardiner a very pretty sort of china vase; from Sir J. Conroy a writing-case; from the whole Conroy family some prints; and from Mr. George Hayter a beautiful drawing done by him. I quite forgot to say that I received a beautiful pair of sapphire and diamond earrings from the King and a beautiful prayer book and very kind letter from the Queen.

Tuesday, 9th June.—At $\frac{1}{2}$ past 9 we breakfasted with the King, the Queen, Charles, the Duchess of Northumberland, Lady Brownlow, Lady Catherine, and Lehzen. At $\frac{1}{2}$ past 10 we went with the whole party to Eton College to see Eton Montem. In the first carriage were the King, the Duke of Cumberland, the Duke of Cambridge, and George, who had all 3 just arrived; in the 2nd, the Queen, Mamma, I, and Charles; in the 3rd, the Duke and Duchess of Northumberland and Lady Brownlow; in the 4th Lord and Lady Denbigh; in the 5th Lady Sophia Cust, Lady De Lisle, Miss Eden, and Mr. Schiffrer; in the 6th Lord and Lady Frederick Fitzclarence and their daughter; in the 7th Lehzen, Miss Hudson, and Miss Wilson. All the other gentlemen rode. This is as near as I can remember. We were received by the Provost¹ and Dr. Hawtrey.² We then went into the yard under a sort of veranda and saw all the boys pass by which was a very pretty sight. Some of the costumes were very pretty. Some were dressed like Greeks, some like archers, others like Scotchmen, &c. We then went into the Provost's house, and from thence saw the boy wave the standard. We also saw the Library which is very curious and old. Eton College was founded by King Henry the Sixth. We then re-entered our carriages and drove to Salt Hill where we again saw the standard waved by the boy. We then drove home. The heat the whole time was TREMENDOUS.

Monday, 20th July.—I awoke at 7. Mamma told me this morning that she had received the melancholy news last night of the death of my dear Aunt Sophie, Countess

¹ Joseph Goodall (1760-1840), Provost of Eton for thirty-one years. An excellent but obscure scholar. It was his misfortune to be the nominal superior of Dr. Keate. He had the temerity on one occasion at Windsor, in the presence of William IV., to tell Sir Henry Halford, who was vain of his scholarship and fond of quoting Latin, that he ought to be whipped for having made a false quantity.

² Dr. Hawtrey (1789-1862), Headmaster of Eton for 18 years, he then presided over the college as Provost for another 10. A profound and elegant scholar, a man of lofty ideals, intrepid soul and warm heart, he raised the tone of masters and boys by sheer force of his delightful personality. He doubled the numbers of the school as well as its efficiency and influence.

Mensdorff,¹ who was here now nearly two years ago. It is so sudden and unexpected that we were *very much shocked, surprised and distressed* at the *sad* news. My poor dear Aunt had been for many years in very bad health, and when she visited us she was unable to walk alone almost; but as we had not heard that she was unwell even, it startled and shocked us very much. She went from Prague, already very unwell, in spite of Uncle Mensdorff's efforts to prevent her, to visit her youngest son Arthur who was in his garrison in a wretched little village in Bohemia, and it was there, far from her relations (except Uncle Mensdorff and Arthur), without any of the comforts which she was accustomed to, in a poor sort of cottage, that she breathed her last! My poor dear Aunt, I feel this loss *very* deeply.

Thursday, 23rd July.— . . . Mamma received this afternoon a letter from Uncle Ernest enclosing the copy of one written by dear Uncle Mensdorff, giving all the sad details about my poor *dear* Aunt. I fear her sufferings must have been very severe at first and during her illness; but at the last she seems to have had no suffering, no struggle. Her last moment was so quiet that Uncle Mensdorff thought she slept, and when he rose at 4 o'clock in the morning, he was pleased to see her sleep so quietly and said to his servant that he hoped the danger was over. Alas! how different was it really! My Aunt's maid went into the room and perceiving she did not breathe, called my Uncle in, who then saw the dreadful truth! She slept truly, but she slept never more to wake! What dear Uncle's feelings were at that moment, and what they still are, may be well imagined! She has been placed temporarily in the vault of the convent of the Elisabetherin Nuns, at Kaden in Bohemia. The funeral was splendid. Thousands came from far and near and all her former friends followed her to her last abode, where she will suffer no more grief or pain! Two regiments with their bands

¹ Countess Mensdorff was the sister of the Duchess of Kent, a Princess of Saxe-Coburg.

playing the funereal music followed and all the Nuns with burning tapers. They strewed the coffin with flowers when it entered the convent, and ornamented the vault in the same manner. It is a happiness to know that she was so much beloved.

Thursday, 30th July.—I awoke at 7 and got up at 8. I gave Mamma a little pin and drawing done by me in recollection of today. I gave Lehzen a ring, also in recollection of today. I forgot to say that Mamma gave me 3 little books yesterday, two of which I have quite read through and the third in part. They are *A Method of Preparation for Confirmation*, by William Hale Hale; *An Address to the Candidates for Confirmation*, by Dr. John Kaye, Bishop of Lincoln; and *An Address to the Students of Eton College who are about to present themselves for Confirmation in 1833*. At $\frac{1}{2}$ past 11 we went with Lady Flora, Lehzen, the Dean &c. to St. James's where I was to be confirmed. I felt that my confirmation was one of the most solemn and important events and acts in my life; and that I trusted that it might have a salutary effect on my mind. I felt deeply repentant for all what I had done which was wrong and trusted in God Almighty to strengthen my heart and mind; and to forsake all that is bad and follow all that is virtuous and right. I went with the firm determination to become a true Christian, to try and comfort my dear Mamma in all her griefs, trials and anxieties, and to become a dutiful and affectionate daughter to her. Also to be obedient to *dear* Lehzen who has done so much for me. I was dressed in a white lace dress, with a white crape bonnet with a wreath of white roses round it. I went in the chariot with my dear Mamma and the others followed in another carriage. We went into the King's Closet with Lady Flora and Lehzen, where we were received by the King and Queen. The Duke and Duchess of Cambridge, Aunt Sophia, the Duke of Cumberland, the Duchess of Weimar,¹ the Duchess

¹ Ida, wife of Duke Bernard of Saxe Weimar Eisenach, a sister of Queen Adelaide.

of Northumberland, the Marquis of Conyngham, Earl Denbigh, Mr. Ashley, the Duke of Northumberland &c., were also there. We then went with all into the Royal Pew in the Chapel. The usual morning service was performed ; after which we all went down into the lower part of the Chapel. The King went first leading me, the Queen followed leading Mamma, and all the others followed after. I stood without the rail before the Altar, between the King and my dear Mamma. The Queen and all the rest went into the pews on each side of the Altar. The Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop of London¹ stood on either side of the Altar. I took off my bonnet. When the usual address had been read, I (as is usual for all to do) replied "I do," and then knelt down and received the benediction from the Archbishop. The whole was performed by the Archbishop who read also a very fine address to me, composed by him expressly for the occasion. He did the whole very well, and I felt the whole very *very deeply*. My dear Mamma was very much affected by the whole. We went away from the Altar in the same way as we came and then went into the Closet again ; where the King gave me a very handsome set of emeralds, and the Queen a head-piece of the same kind. We then drove home. We came home at a $\frac{1}{4}$ to 2. I was very much affected indeed when we came home.

TUNBRIDGE WELLS, *Wednesday, 19th August*.—Today is my *poor dear* Aunt Sophie's birthday. . . . I read to Lehzen out of Sully's Memoirs. It is wonderful when one considers how many years ago they have been written. Upwards of 300 years, and how modern and pure the style is! His account of the horrible massacre of St. Bartholomew is highly interesting as coming from the pen of an eye-witness! At 1 we went to the races with Lady Flora, Lehzen, and Sir G. Anson. It was

¹ Dr. Charles James Blomfield (1786-1857), a fine scholar, and a Bishop of unusual administrative capacity. His influence in the Church of England, both as Bishop of Chester and Bishop of London, was second to none, until the day of his retirement in 1856. He died at Fulham Palace in August 1857.

very amusing. The day was beautiful and we sat under a sort of covering of cloth decorated with flowers, in our carriage. The Manor Stakes were won by a chesnut mare called Tirara belonging to a Mr. James Bacon. The Give-and-Take plate as it was entitled, was won by Mr. John Bacon's chesnut mare Malibran, and the Kent and Sussex stakes was won by Mr. Pegg's horse Little-thought-of. Amongst the numbers of beggars, itinerary musicians, actors etc. of all sorts and kinds, was a boy of 14 years old who called himself the son of an actor Williamson, very poorly dressed, who declaimed by heart a part of Marmion and of Campbell's poems with great feeling and talent. We came home at 5.

Friday, 4th September.—At $\frac{1}{2}$ past 9 we left Wansford. It is a very nice clean Inn. We passed through Stamford, a very large and populous town, after having changed horses at Witham Common. We changed horses 2ndly at Grantham, also a large town. These 3 are in Lincolnshire. 3rdly at Newark, also a large town, and lastly at Scarthing Moor. The country from Wansford to Scarthing Moor was like yesterday, extremely flat and ugly. From Scarthing Moor to Barnby Moor, where we arrived at 5 o'clock, the country is rich and wooded, but very flat. This Inn (Barnby Moor) is extremely clean and pretty. Newark, Scarthing Moor and Barnby Moor are all in Nottinghamshire. I am struck by the number of small villages in the counties which we passed through today, each with their church. And what is likewise peculiar is, that the churches have all steeples of a spiral shape.

Saturday, 5th September.—We left Barnby Moor. It is a remarkably nice and clean Inn. We changed horses 1st at Doncaster, a very pretty town, 2ndly at Ferry bridge where there is a fine bridge, and lastly at Tadcaster. All these towns are in Yorkshire. We reached Bishopthorpe (the Archbishop of York's Palace) at 2. It is 2 miles and a half from York. It is a very large house and part of it is very old. Besides the

Archbishop¹ and Miss Harcourt (his daughter), the Duchess of Northumberland, Lady Norreys,² Sir John and Lady Johnstone³ (Lady Johnstone is the Archbishop's daughter), Mr. and Mrs. and Miss Granville Harcourt,⁴ Colonel Francis Harcourt,⁵ Mr. Vernon, are staying in the house. The country through which we travelled to-day is very flat and ugly, but extremely rich. I find the air in Yorkshire cooler than in Kent and the South of England.

BISHOPTHORPE, *Wednesday, 9th September*.— . . . At a $\frac{1}{4}$ past 11 we went to the York Minster with the same party as yesterday with the exception of Lord and Lady Norreys and Mrs. Vernon, who remained at home. The Minster was fuller than on the preceding day. It was Handel's Oratorio of *The Messiah*. It is considered very fine, but I must say that, with the exception of a few Choruses and one or two songs, it is very heavy and tiresome. It is in 3 parts. In the 1st part Grisi sang "Rejoice greatly" *most beautifully*. She pronounces the English so *very well*, and sang the whole in such excellent style. . . . The Hallelujah Chorus at the end of the 2nd part and another at the end of the 3rd act are the finest things besides "Rejoice greatly." But I am not at all fond of Handel's music, I like the present Italian school such as Rossini, Bellini, Donizetti &c., *much better*. . . .

¹ Edward Vernon-Harcourt (1757-1847), Archbishop of York, was the third son of the first Lord Vernon. He assumed his mother's name of Harcourt on succeeding to the family estates of Stanton Harcourt and Nuneham Courtenay. He married Anne, third daughter of first Marquess of Stafford. A most sumptuous prelate. He was the grandfather of Sir William Vernon Harcourt, M.P.

² Daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Granville Harcourt, and wife of Montagu, Lord Norreys, M.P. for Oxfordshire, afterwards sixth Earl of Abingdon.

³ Sir John, second Baronet (1799-1869), father of Lord Derwent. His wife was Louise, second daughter of Archbishop Harcourt.

⁴ Granville Harcourt, younger son of the Archbishop. His wife was a Miss Eyre, an heiress, and their daughter afterwards married Mr. H. St. John Mildmay.

⁵ At Nuneham there is a snuff-box, inset with diamonds, given by Queen Victoria to Colonel Harcourt, and engraved "For services rendered to her while still at Kensington."

Friday, 11th September.— . . . Lablache and Rubini sang only once each. Alas! it will be a long time before I shall hear their two fine voices again. But time passes away quickly and April and the dear Opera will soon return. I am to learn to sing next year. Mamma promised I should; and I hope to learn of Lablache. What a delightful master he would be to learn of! Grisi sang "Laudate Dominum," by Mozart, accompanied by Dr. Camidge¹ on the organ. She executed the delicate passages in it *beautifully*. Between the two parts we lunched at the Deanery with our party and many others. Grisi came in with her uncle while we were at luncheon. She is extremely handsome, near-by, by day-light. Her features are not small, but extremely fine, and her eyes are beautiful as are also her teeth. She has such a sweet amiable expression when she smiles, and has pleasing quiet manners. She had an ugly dingy foulard dress on, with a large coloured handkerchief under a large muslin collar. And she had a frightful little pink bonnet on, but in spite of all her ugly attire she looked very handsome. She is a most fascinating little creature. . . . Grisi sang the last air "Sing ye to the Lord." Never did I hear anything so beautiful. It was a complete triumph! and was quite electrifying! Though a very little bit and with very little accompaniment, the manner, the power with which she sang it, and the emphasis which she put into it, was truly splendid. I shall just write down the lines:

Sing ye to the Lord, for He hath triumphed gloriously:
The horse and his rider hath He thrown into the sea.

She pronounced it beautifully. When she had sung "The horse and his rider hath He thrown" she paused a moment, and then came out most emphatically with "*into the sea!*"

¹ Matthew Camidge, organist at York Minster 1799-1842. For five generations the family of Camidge supplied organists in the county of York.

CANTERBURY, *Thursday, 29th September*.—We left Canterbury, and reached Ramsgate at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 12. The people received us in a most friendly and kind way. The whole was very well conducted, and the people were very orderly. The streets were ornamented with arches of flowers and flags. The open, free, boundless (to the eye) ocean looked very refreshing. There is nothing between us and France but the sea, here. We have got a small but very nice house, overlooking the sea. At a $\frac{1}{4}$ past 2 we walked down to the Albion Hotel to see the preparations made for dear Uncle Leopold and dear Aunt Louisa. At a little past 4 we went down to the Hotel with Lady Flora, Lehzen and Lady Conroy, as the steamer was in sight. With beating hearts and longing eyes we sat at the window, anxiously watching the steamer's progress. There was an immense concourse of people on the pier to see them arrive. After about half an hour's time, the steamer entered the Harbour, amidst loud cheering and the salute of guns from the pier, with the Belgian flag on its mast. My *dearest* Uncle Leopold, King of the Belgians, and *dearest* Aunt Louisa were very warmly received. It was but the people's duty to do so, as dear Uncle has lived for so long in England and was so much beloved. After another $\frac{1}{4}$ of an hour of anxious suspense, the waiter told us that "Their Majesties were coming." We hastened downstairs to receive them. There was an immense crowd before the door. At length Uncle appeared, having Aunt Louisa at his arm. What a happiness was it for me to throw myself in the arms of that *dearest* of Uncles, who has always been to me like a father, and whom I love so *very dearly*! I had not seen him for 4 years and 2 months. I was also delighted to make the acquaintance of that dear Aunt who is such a perfection and who has been always so kind to me, without knowing me. She is not quite so tall as Mamma, and has a very pretty slight figure. Her hair is of a lovely fair colour; her nose is aquiline, her eyes are quite lovely; they are light blue and have such a

charming expression. She is delightful, and was so affectionate to me directly. She pronounces English extremely well and speaks it very fluently.

1836

Monday, 11th January, 1836.— . . . We walked on the pier and got into a boat. There was a good deal of swell in the Harbour, and at the mouth of it our boat pitched and rolled a good deal; Mamma began to look queerish, but I thought it very pleasant. There were, I think, 7 French boats in the Harbour; and there were numbers of little French boys on the pier; we gave them something, but they (for the first time) proved dissatisfied and rebellious. They quite attacked Lehzen, who always gives the money, coming round her on all sides, stretching out their hands, saying "Donnez-moi un sou," "Je n'ai pas un," "Madame, Madame, donnez-moi un sou," &c. Some little urchins were *rusés* enough to say "C'est pour nos matelots, nous allons à bord dans l'instant." Lehzen threw them a shilling, whereupon they all fell on the ground in one heap, scrambling after it. They were quiet for a little while, but a few little determined fellows came again and followed us for some time. They at length got something, and went away. Cela était fort amusant et très ridicule à voir. . . .

Wednesday, 13th January.—We left Sittingbourne at 9. It was a bitterly cold day, though bright and clear. We changed horses at Rochester, 2ndly at Gravesend, and 3rdly at Blackheath. We reached Kensington Palace at a little before 2. We instantly went upstairs, that is to say, up *two* staircases, to our new sleeping and sitting apartments, which are very lofty and handsome. To describe them minutely and accurately would be impossible. Our bedroom¹ is very large and lofty, and is very nicely furnished, then comes a little room for the maid, and a dressing-room for Mamma; then comes the old gallery which is partitioned into 3 large, lofty, fine

¹ This room was in later years the room of Princess May, now H.M. the Queen.

and cheerful rooms.¹ One only of these (the one near Mamma's dressing-room) is ready furnished; it is my sitting-room, and is *very* prettily furnished indeed. My pictures are not yet in it. The next is my study, and the last is an anteroom; this last has no fireplace, but the two others have, and my sitting-room is very warm and comfortable. There is another room, belonging to me, on another side of the bed-room (Lehzen's former bed-room) which is not freshly furnished, but is a passage &c. Lehzen is now in our former bed-room. When I went down into my poor former sitting-room,² I could not help looking at it with affection, and pleasant recollections, having passed so many days of my life and many very pleasant ones there; but our new rooms are much more airy and roomy. . . .

Saturday, 6th February.— . . . I have quite forgotten to mention that the young Queen of Portugal was married by proxy on the 1st of January to—*my Cousin Ferdinand*, Uncle Ferdinand's eldest son, and who completed his 19th year on the 29th of last October.³ The negotiations to this purpose have been going on since last September, and have only just now come to an end. Count Lavradio, whom we saw just before we went to Ramsgate, went to Cobourg to meet Uncle Ferdinand and my dear Cousins Ferdinand and Augustus, there. Dear Uncle Leopold has managed a *great* deal of the business; he is ever ready and ever *most able* to assist his family. Uncle Ferdinand has not long left Brussels, where he came to settle and arrange about the marriage. Dear Uncle Ferdinand is, of course, full of anxiety for the welfare and happiness of his son. Ferdinand will soon come to Brussels with Augustus on his way to Lisbon and they will also come here. I cannot say how

¹ The partitions were taken down after the accession of King Edward, and the great gallery restored to the condition in which it was left by William III.

² Afterwards occupied as a sitting-room by Princess Henry of Battenberg.

³ Prince Ferdinand was nephew of the Duchess of Kent (the son of her brother Ferdinand), and was married to Maria da Gloria, Queen of Portugal. Their sons Pedro V. and Luis both succeeded to the Throne. Count Lavradio had been sent to Coburg to negotiate the alliance.

happy I am to become thus related to the Queen of Portugal, who has always been so kind to me and for whom I have always had a great affection. She is warm-hearted, honest and affectionate, and when she talks, is very pleasing. We have known each other since our 8th year (for there is only a month's difference of age between us). She is far from plain too; she has an exquisite complexion, a good nose and fine hair. I hear that Ferdinand is full of good and excellent qualities, has a pure and unsophisticated mind, and is very good-looking. . . .

Saturday, 27th February.— . . . It was Miss Joanna Baillie's¹ Tragedy of *The Separation* in 5 acts, performed for the 2nd time. The principal characters are: Garcio (an Italian Count), Mr. Charles Kemble,² who acted finely in parts but is dreadfully changed; Rovani (his friend), G. Bennett who acted disagreeably and affectedly; the Marquis of Tortona, Mr. Pritchard, a poor odd-looking creature; Margaret (wife to Garcio), Miss Helen Faucit,³ who acted well in the pathetic quiet parts. I had not seen Charles Kemble since 5 years, and I did not quite recollect his countenance; those however who had seen him in his good days, when he was an excellent actor and a very handsome man, found the change *very great*. *I*, for *my* part, like Macready by far better. Kemble whines so much and drawls the words in such a slow peculiar manner; his actions too (to me) are overdone and affected, and his voice is not pleasant to me; he makes terrible faces also which spoils his countenance and he looks old and does not carry himself well.

¹ Miss Joanna Baillie (1762–1851), a writer of many plays, now forgotten. She is remembered as a lady to whom Sir Walter Scott wrote freely. She resided at Hampstead, and was visited by many distinguished men of letters. Sir Walter edited, and Kemble acted, one of her plays.

² Charles Kemble (1775–1854), the youngest of the family whose chief ornament was Mrs. Siddons. A meritorious comedian.

³ Helen Faucit was now nineteen, and had just made her debut as Julia in *The Hunchback*. The "Margaret" of the present occasion was her first original part. She married Mr. (afterwards Sir) Theodore Martin in 1851, and was as much esteemed by Queen Victoria for her womanly qualities as by the public for her impersonation of Rosalind. She died in 1898.



Mr. Charles Mathews
as Daphnopolis in The Rapture
of the ...

CHARLES MATHEWS

From a sketch by Princess Victoria

The figure consists of two parts. The top part shows a single hexagon with its six nearest neighbors, illustrating the local structure. The bottom part shows a larger section of the lattice, with a central hexagon highlighted by a thick border. A legend at the bottom right indicates that black dots represent occupied sites and white dots represent vacant sites.

He was very fine, however, at the end of the 3rd act when he snatches the picture out of his wife's hand, and when he discovers it to be that of her brother Ulrico whom he murdered,—the way in which he throws the picture on the ground and sinks trembling and gasping against the bed, while his countenance portrays the violent feelings of remorse, horror and conscience this Kemble did *very finely*, and also when he takes leave of Margaret. He *was* undoubtedly a very fine actor, nay, still *is*, but he is not natural enough for my taste. I *do* think Macready is so feeling and natural, particularly now; he was perhaps formerly rather affected and violent at times. His voice too I like so much and he does not drawl the words; I like him best after Young who was the *most beautiful* actor I ever saw, or who perhaps ever existed in this country, except Garrick and John Kemble (Charles K.'s elder brother). I only saw Young twice but I shall never forget it. I saw him 1st in *Macbeth* and then I saw him take his final leave of the stage in *Hamlet*. I must say a few words about G. Bennett¹ and Miss Helen Faucit. Bennett, whom I have seen act really extremely well in *The Miller and His Men*, in *Pizarro*, in *King John* as Hubert, &c., &c., was extremely disagreeable yesterday as Rovani; he twisted his arms, hands, legs, back and even eyes in all directions, and drawled his words in speaking most disagreeably. Miss Faucit is plain and thin, and her voice is much against her, but when she is gentle and pathetic she is far from disagreeable; she rants and screams² too much also, but as she is very young, they say she may *become* a good actress. The Tragedy though well written is rather unnatural and very heavy in parts; I must say I greatly prefer *The Provost of Bruges* and think it by far more natural. Kemble

¹ George John Bennett, an actor never in the front rank. He was associated with Phelps throughout his long management of Sadler's Wells, and played respectable parts.

² When, as Lady Martin, forty years later, she appeared as Rosalind on a special occasion, in the interests of charity, these characteristics were found to be unimpaired.

and Miss Faucit were called out and were much applauded. . . .

Monday, 29th February.— . . . At $\frac{1}{2}$ past 7 we went to the play to Mme. Vestris's¹ Olympic, with Lehzen and Sir J. C. I had never been there before; it is a very small but pretty, clean little theatre. It was the burletta of *One Hour* or *The Carnival Ball* in one act. The principal characters are: Mr. Charles Swiftly, Mr. Charles Mathews,² a most *delightful* and *charming* actor; he is son to the celebrated old Mathews who died last year. He is quite a young man, I should say not more than five or six and twenty.³ His face is not good-looking, but very clever and pleasing; he has a very slight, pretty figure, with very small feet and is very graceful and immensely active; he skips and runs about the stage in a most agile manner. He is *so* natural and amusing, and never vulgar but always very gentleman-like. He is a most charming actor. . . .

Charles Mathews is the most delightful and amusing actor possible. He is the only child of his parents and was intended for an architect and studied in Greece and Italy for that purpose; but having a penchant for the stage, he abandoned his profession and had become an actor! we see how it has succeeded—*most perfectly!* . . .

Thursday, 17th March.— . . . We reached Windsor Castle at 6. We went to the Queen's room where Ferdinand and Augustus were presented to the King. We then went to our rooms. At $\frac{1}{2}$ past 7 we dined in St. George's Hall with an immense number of people. Ferdinand looked very well. He wore the 3 Portuguese

¹ Madame Vestris (1797–1856), daughter of Bartolozzi the engraver. She married at sixteen Armand Vestris, and secondly Charles Mathews. Her histrionic powers were not remarkable, but her reputation as a singer and producer of extravaganza stood high.

² Charles Mathews (1803–78), one of the most delightful comedians of all time. Destined for the Church, educated as an architect, he did not make his debut on the stage until he was thirty-two years old. He married Madame Vestris, and his Autobiography and Letters were edited by Charles Dickens.

³ He was thirty-three years old.

Orders in one ribbon, which he has the right of doing as husband to the Queen of Portugal. Ferdinand led the Queen in to dinner and the King led Mamma and I. I sat between the King and George Cambridge and opposite dear Ferdinand. After dinner we went into a beautiful new drawing-room¹ where we remained till the gentlemen came from dinner. We then all went into the Waterloo Gallery where the ball was. The King went in first, then the Queen and Mamma, and then dear Ferdinand with me at his arm. I danced 3 quadrilles; 1st with dear Ferdinand, then with George Cambridge, and lastly with dear Augustus. During the evening dear Ferdinand came and sat near me and talked so dearly and so sensibly. I do *so* love him. Dear Augustus also sat near me and talked with me and he is also a dear good young man, and is very handsome. He is extremely quiet and silent, but there is a great deal in him. I am so fond too of my Uncle Ferdinand. I stayed up till 1. I was much amused and pleased. Uncle Ferdinand brought me two kind notes from Uncle Leopold and Aunt Louise. Ferdinand is so fond of Aunt Louise. He told me: "Oh, *je l'aime tant!*" Both he and Augustus speak French extremely well. This dinner and ball were in honour of dear Ferdinand.

Wednesday, 18th May.— . . . At a $\frac{1}{4}$ to 2 we went down into the Hall, to receive my Uncle Ernest, Duke of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, and my Cousins, Ernest and Albert, his sons. My Uncle was here, now 5 years ago, and is looking extremely well. Ernest is as tall as Ferdinand and Augustus; he has dark hair, and fine dark eyes and eyebrows, but the nose and mouth are not good; he has a most kind, honest and intelligent expression in his countenance, and has a very good figure. Albert, who is just as tall as Ernest but stouter, is extremely handsome; his hair is about the same colour as mine; his eyes are large and blue, and he has a beautiful nose and a very sweet mouth with fine teeth; but the charm of his countenance is his expression,

¹ This room is now known as "the State Drawing-room."

which is most delightful; *c'est à la fois* full of goodness and sweetness, and very clever and intelligent. We went upstairs with them, and after staying a few minutes with them, I went up to my room. Played and sang. Drew. At a little after 4 Uncle Ernest and my Cousins came up to us and stayed in my room till 10 minutes past 5. Both my Cousins are so kind and good; they are much more *formés* and men of the world than Augustus; they speak English very well, and I speak it with them. Ernest will be 18 years old on the 21st of June and Albert 17 on the 26th of August. Dear Uncle Ernest made me the present of a most delightful *Lory*, which is so tame that it remains on your hand, and you may put your finger into its beak, or do anything with it, without its ever attempting to bite.

Saturday, 21st May.— . . . At $\frac{1}{2}$ past 7 we dined with Uncle Ernest, Ernest, Albert, Charles, Lady Flora, Count Kolowrat, Baron Alvensleben, &c. I sat between my dear Cousins. After dinner came Princess Sophia. Baron de Hoggier, who had arrived from Lisbon the day before, came after dinner, and took leave, on his way home. I sat between my dear Cousins on the sofa and we looked at drawings. They both draw very well, particularly Albert, and are both exceedingly fond of music; and they play very nicely on the piano. The more I see them the more I am delighted with them, and the more I love them. They are so natural, so kind, so *very* good and so well instructed and informed; they are so well bred, so truly merry and quite like children and yet very grown up in their manners and conversation. It is delightful to be with them; they are so fond of being occupied too; they are quite an example for any young person. . . .

Friday, 10th June.—At 9 we all breakfasted for the *last* time together! It was our last HAPPY HAPPY breakfast, with this dear Uncle and those *dearest*, beloved Cousins, whom I *do* love so VERY VERY dearly; *much more* dearly than any other Cousins in the *world*. Dearly as I love Ferdinand, and also good Augustus, I love Ernest and

Albert *more* than them, oh yes, MUCH *more*. Augustus was like a good, affectionate child, quite unacquainted with the world, phlegmatic, and talking but very little; but dearest Ernest and dearest Albert are so grown-up in their manners, so gentle, so kind, so amiable, so agreeable, so very sensible and reasonable, and so *really* and truly good and kind-hearted. They have both learnt a good deal, and are very clever, naturally clever, particularly Albert, who is the most reflecting of the two, and they like very much talking about serious and instructive things and yet are so *very very* merry and gay and happy, like young people ought to be; Albert used always to have some fun and some clever witty answer at breakfast and everywhere; he used to play and fondle Dash so funnily too. Both he and Ernest are extremely attentive to *whatever* they hear and see, and take interest in everything they see. They were much interested with the sight of St. Paul's yesterday. At 11 dear Uncle, my *dearest beloved* Cousins, and Charles left us, accompanied by Count Kolowrat. I embraced both my dearest Cousins most warmly, as also my dear Uncle. I cried bitterly, very bitterly. . . .

Wednesday, 3rd August.—At a $\frac{1}{4}$ to 4 we went with Lehzen and Lady Flora to Chiswick, to the Victoria Asylum or Children's Friend Society. It is a most interesting and delightful establishment, and has been founded almost entirely by Lady George¹ and Miss Murray. It is for poor vagrant girls, who are received under the age of 15; and Miss Murray says that they have never had a girl 6 months who did not become a perfectly good child. I forget how young they receive children, but there are—[unintelligible] girls in all, and they are divided, a few being in an infant school upstairs. When they have become quite good and can read, write and do work of all kinds necessary for a house, they are sent abroad, mostly to the Cape of Good Hope, where they are apprenticed and become excellent servants.

¹ Daughter of Lieut.-General Francis Grant and widow of Lord George Murray, Bishop of St. David's and second son of the second Duke of Atholl.

Miss Murray told us many curious stories of the depraved and wretched state in which many arrive, and how soon they become reformed and good. There is one little girl in particular, a very pretty black-eyed girl, 11 years old, called Ellen Ford, who was received two months ago from *Newgate*, and who boasted she could steal and tell lies better than anybody. She had been but two or three days in the school, and she got over 3 high walls, and stole a sheet; she was caught and brought back again. Miss Murray spoke to her, and found that the poor girl had no idea whatever of a *God*, and had a drunken father, a low Irishman; this man had lost his 1st wife and married again, and this step-mother taught the girl nothing but stealing and lying. Miss Murray told her of God, and spoke to her very seriously; the girl was put in solitary confinement for that night and was taken out the next morning; and ever since she has been a perfectly good girl. There are many cases of the same sort which Miss Murray said she could relate. Before I finish this chapter I must mention the Matron, a most respectable excellent person, called Mrs. Bowerhill; she is assisted by her two daughters, and by an old woman for work: but besides this old woman, the children do all the work themselves. We came home at $\frac{1}{2}$ p. 6. I was very much pleased indeed with all I saw. Miss Murray gave me a book into which she had copied several of the letters of the children from abroad, and very nice well-written letters they are. Miss Murray's exertions are immense and most praiseworthy for the Children's Friend Society.

Monday, 8th August.—At 11 came my good Lablache and stayed till 20 minutes past 12. I sang 1st "Come per me sereno," from *La Sonnambula*. Then he sang with me "Claudio, Claudio, ritorna fra le braccia paterne," twice over; then he sang with me "Se un istante all' offerta d'un soglio," also from *Elisa e Claudio*. The former of these two was the one that I sang so very ill on Saturday, but which Lablache did not mind at all. *He* thought it went better to-day: but he is too indulgent.



LUIGI LABLACHE
From a sketch by Princess Victoria

70 1980
1980 1980

He was in delightful voice, and sang *beautifully*. After this he sang "Non temer il mio bel cadetto" from *Il Posto abbandonato*, by Mercadante, with me. His volubility of tongue is wonderful; he can sing such quantities of words and at such a rate. There are plenty in this Duo, and still more in "Quand amore," and in "Voglio dire," both from *L'Elisire d'Amore*. Then he sang my favourite "O amato zio" from my dear *Puritani*, with me. After this he sang "O nume benefico" with us; then "Ridiamo, cantiamo," and then, *alas! per finire*, "Dopo due lustri ah! misero," from *Donna Caritea*, by Mercadante. Lablache told me that he likes *Guillaume Tell* the best of all Rossini's operas, *Otello* the best of his Operas Seria, and *Il Barbiere* the best of his buffa operas. *Ha ragione*. His son (Lablache's) is gone, he told me; he went yesterday, as did also Rubini. I asked him if any other of his 8 children sang, or were musical. He replied, "Non, ils sont trop jeunes; l'ainé n'a que douze ans." And the youngest of all, he says, is only 2 years old. There is an opera to-morrow, but the boxes &c., &c. are let, shocking to say, at the play-house prices, and "C'est un pasticcio," he said. It is not in the regular number of nights. He said that I have improved greatly in my singing since he has sung with me. After the last trio, I took leave of *il mio buon e caro Maestro* with great regret. I must repeat again that he is not only a most delightful, patient, and agreeable master, but a most good-humoured, pleasing, agreeable and honest man; his manners are very gentlemanly and quiet, and he has something very frank, open and honest in his countenance; everybody who knows him agrees in his being such a good man. I have had 26 lessons of Lablache and shall think back with great delight on them; and shall look forward with equal delight to next April, when I hope Lablache will be here, so that I can resume them again. It was such a pleasure to hear his fine voice and to sing with him.

CLAREMONT, Sunday, 18th September.—Baron Moncorvo brought yesterday the distressing news that the same unfortunate revolution which took place in Spain, has

likewise taken place in Portugal, and that the Queen was forced to proclaim the constitution of 1820 similar to the one of 1812.¹ It happened between Friday the 9th and Saturday the 10th, in the night. I do so feel for poor dear Ferdinand in this trying moment, as also for the poor good Queen. The difference between this and the one in Spain was: that in *Portugal* they behaved respectfully towards dear Ferdinand and Donna Maria, and in Spain they almost insulted the Queen Regent. In Portugal, thank God! no blood has been shed. As soon as the Empress heard what had happened, or rather what would happen, she hastened to the Palace de Necessidades, where Ferdinand and the Queen were, arrived there at 3 o'clock in the night, and remained there till all was over. The Princess Isabella, the Queen's Aunt (and the former Regent), also came and remained with them. Uncle Leopold was much shocked and distressed when he heard it, as were we also, I am sure. . . . Dear Uncle came up for a minute and brought us 3 letters which Van de Weyer² had written to him, giving a detailed account of these horrid transactions at Lisbon. Van de Weyer's conduct throughout this dreadful business, when everybody else seems to have lost their heads and senses, was most courageous, prudent and judicious; and if his and Ferdinand's advice had been followed, the Queen would *not* have been obliged to sign the Promulgation of the *Constituição* of 1820. Van de Weyer says that *all* was given up "*avec la plus affreuse lâcheté!*" without a struggle or attempt, when *all might yet have been saved*. . . .

Monday, 26th September.— . . . Read in the Morning Post of today the melancholy and almost incredible news of the *death* of—*Malibran!* which took place at Manchester on Friday night at 12 o'clock, at the early age of

¹ The mutiny and riots in Portugal were, it was contended, the outcome of the appointment of Prince Ferdinand as Commander-in-Chief. This appointment had been made on the advice of the Duc de Terceira, the Prime Minister.

² Sylvain Van de Weyer, Belgian Minister at the Court of St. James's; a trusted friend of King Leopold and of Queen Victoria. He had been a prominent leader of the Revolution in Belgium in 1830. He married the daughter of Joshua Bates, senior partner in Barings.

28. She had gone there for the festival which took place the week before last, and only sang on Tuesday the 13th instant, and tried to do so on the Wednesday but was unable, after which she was taken so alarmingly ill that all singing was over. On Saturday the account in the papers was that she was out of danger, but the improvement was only transient and on Friday night this wonderful singer and extraordinary person was no more. She will be, and is, a very *great* loss indeed; for, though I liked and admired Grisi by far more than Malibran, I admired many parts of the latter's singing very much, in particular those touching and splendid low notes which gave one quite a thrill. In point of cleverness and genius there is not a doubt that Malibran far surpassed Grisi; for she was not proficient alone in singing and acting, she knew Spanish (her own language), Italian, French, English, and German perfectly, as also various Italian *patois*. She composed very prettily, drew well, rode well on horseback, danced beautifully, and enfin *climbed* well, as General Alava told us, who knew her very well; he said you could speak with her on any subject and she was equally *à son aise*. She was born in 1808 at Paris, and is the daughter of a famous Spanish singer called *Garcia*; she married first an old French merchant called *Malibran*, from whom she was divorced; and secondly this spring the incomparable violinist De Bériot. Mamma saw her make her debut as *Maria Garcia*, only 16 years old, in *Il Crociato*, at the Italian Opera in London, as "un giovinetto Cavalier." There is something peculiarly awful and striking in the death of this great Cantatrice, undoubtedly the *second in the world*, (Grisi being the *first in my opinion*). To be thus cut off in the bloom of her youth and the height of her career, suddenly, is dreadful! . . .

Wednesday, 28th September.— . . . The news from Lisbon are far from good, I am *sorry to say*. Mamma received a letter from Van de Weyer this morning, dated 11th Sept., in which he said that there had been another *émeute* the afternoon before, which however had been dissipated, and that both *dearest* Ferdinand and Donna

Maria showed great calmness and dignity. It is a great trial for poor dear Ferdinand and for the good Queen. Van de Weyer says they are all in a very uncomfortable situation. . . .

Tuesday, 1st November.— . . . Read in *The Conquest of Granada*, and wrote my journal. There are two lines in *Rokeby* (which is so full of beauty that I could copy the whole and not find one part which is not full of loveliness, sweetness, grace, elegance, and feeling, for the immortal bard who wrote these beautiful poems never *could* write an *ugly* line in *my* opinion) which struck me, as well as the Dean, who is, s'il est permis de le dire, poetry-mad, as most splendid. . . . Oh! Walter Scott is my *beau idéal* of a Poet; I do so admire him both in Poetry and Prose! . . .

Sunday, 20th November.— . . . Read a letter of Lord Palmerston's to Mamma relative to the late unfortunate affairs at Lisbon, which is very consolatory. Marshal Saldanha was charged to bring about the reaction, which was to spread first in the provinces and then to the capital and the Queen was *not* to give the first impulse.¹ Unfortunately poor Donna Maria was hurried into this step by the jealousy of those about her. The friends of the Duke of Terceira, unwilling that Marshal Saldanha should have the credit of the reaction, snatched it out of his hands and brought on all this confusion. However, Lord Palmerston concludes with this: "The result of the whole is, that the Queen's position is *better* than it *was*, not so *bad* as it *might* have been after such a failure, but *much less good* than if she had waited patiently till the proper time for action had arrived. The Prince behaved throughout with spirit, courage and firmness and has acquired by his conduct the respect of both parties." That our beloved and precious Ferdinand has behaved in such a way is most *delightful* for me, who *love him* like the *dearest of Brothers*. It could not be otherwise, I was sure. . . .

¹ The Queen had been led to believe that a counter-revolution would be popular, but the movement was a failure.

Tuesday, 29th November.— . . . At 8 we left poor West Cliff House. . . . We reached Canterbury in safety in spite of the rain and some wind, but not very long after we left it, it began to blow so dreadfully, accompanied by floods of rain at intervals, that our carriage swung and the post-boys could scarcely keep on their horses. As we approached Sittingbourne, the *hurricane*, for I cannot call it by any other name, became quite frightful and even alarming; corn stacks were flying about, trees torn up by their roots, and chimneys blown to atoms. We got out, or rather were *blown* out, at Sittingbourne. After staying there for a short while we got into the carriage where Lady Theresa and Lehzen were, with them, which being larger and heavier than our post-chaise, would not shake so much. For the first 4 or 5 miles all went on more smoothly and I began to hope our difficulties were at an end. Alas! far from it. The wind blew worse than before and in going down the hill just before Chatham, the hurricane was so tremendous that the horses stopped for a minute, and I thought that we were undone, but by dint of whipping and very good management of the post-boys we reached Rochester in safety. Here we got out, and here it was determined that we must pass the night. Here we are therefore, and here we must remain, greatly to my annoyance, for I am totally unprepared, Lehzen's and my wardrobe maid are gone on to Claremont, and I hate sleeping at an Inn. I had been so glad at the thought of not doing so this time, mais "l'homme propose et Dieu dispose," and it would have been temerity to proceed, for a coach had been upset on the bridge just before we arrived, and the battlements of the bridge itself were totally blown in. . . .

Sunday, 18th December.— . . . I sat between Mr. Croker¹ and Col. Wemyss.² Der erste ist ein kluger,

¹ The Rt. Hon. John Wilson Croker (1780–1857), M.P. for Downpatrick and Secretary to the Admiralty. Immortalised in *Coningsby* as "Mr. Rigby," he has remained the type of malignant and meddling politician that Disraeli desired to expose. His title to respect is that he was one of the earliest contributors to *The Quarterly Review*, which was founded by John Murray in 1809.

² William Wemyss, afterwards Lieut.-General and Equerry to Queen Victoria.

aber nach meiner Meinung, nicht angenehmer Mann ; er spricht zu viel. He has a very excellent memory and tells anecdotes cleverly but with a peculiar pronunciation of the *r*. He said that the Duke of Wellington had told him that the character of the 3 nations, the English, Scotch, and Irish, was very apparent in the army. He said (the Duke), "It may seem like a joke what I am going to say, but it is quite true; the *Scotch* were pleased when the *money* arrived, the *Irish* when they got into a *wine country*, and the *English* when the *roast beef* came up." He told many anecdotes and made many remarks upon the various nations, ein wenig sehr stark. Il aime trop à étaler, il n'a pas de tact; il prend trop le ton supérieur. . . .

CHAPTER II

1837

Wednesday, 24th May.—Today is my 18th birthday! How old! and yet how far am I from being what I should be. I shall from this day take the *firm* resolution to study with renewed assiduity, to keep my attention always well fixed on whatever I am about, and to strive to become every day less trifling and more fit for what, if Heaven wills it, I'm some day to be! At $\frac{1}{2}$ p. 10 we went to the ball at St. James's with the Duchess of Northumberland, dear Lehzen, Lady Flora and Lady Conroy, &c. The King though much better was unable of course to be there, and the Queen neither, so that, strange to say, Princess Augusta made the *honours*! I danced first with Lord Fitzalan,¹ 2ndly with Prince Nicholas Esterhazy,² who is a very amiable, agreeable, gentlemanly young man; 3rdly with the Marquis of Granby³; 4thly with the Marquis of Douro⁴ who is very odd and amusing; and 5thly and lastly with the Earl of Sandwich⁵ who is an agreeable

¹ Grandson of the twelfth Duke of Norfolk who died in 1842. He succeeded as fourteenth Duke and died in 1860.

² Son of Prince Paul Esterhazy, Austrian Ambassador.

³ Charles (1815-88), afterwards sixth Duke of Rutland, K.G.; he died unmarried. A man of grim manners but not unkindly heart.

⁴ Arthur Richard (1807-84), afterwards second Duke of Wellington, K.G. Almost better known by his courtesy title of Lord Douro. Had he not been the son of the Great Duke, his uncommon talents might have earned for him a career of distinction. In appearance he singularly resembled his august father, and late in life he was addicted to a style of costume which led people to say that he wore his father's old clothes. He, however, possessed a pretty wit.

⁵ John William (1811-84), seventh Earl of Sandwich, afterwards Master of the Buckhounds.

young man. I wished to dance with Count Waldstein who is such an amiable man, but he replied that he could not dance quadrilles, and as in my station I unfortunately cannot valse and gallop, I could not dance with him. The beauties there were (in my opinion) the Duchess of Sutherland, Lady Frances (or Fanny) Cowper, who is very pleasing, natural and clever-looking. . . . The Courtyard and the streets were crammed when we went to the Ball, and the anxiety of the people to see poor stupid me was very great, and I must say I am quite touched by it, and feel proud which I always have done of my country and of the English Nation. I forgot to say that before we went to dinner we saw the dear children. I gave my beloved Lehzen a small brooch of my hair.

Sunday, 4th June.—At a little after 3 came my good and honest friend, *Stockmar*,¹ and stayed with me till $\frac{1}{2}$ p. 3. He had a very pleasant and useful conversation with me; he is one of those few people who tell plain honest truth, don't flatter, give wholesome necessary advice, and strive to do good and smooth all dissensions. He is Uncle Leopold's greatest and most confidential attached and disinterested friend, and I hope he is the same to me, at least, I feel so towards him; Lehzen being of course the *greatest* friend I have. . . .

Thursday, 15th June.—The news of the King are so very bad that all my lessons save the Dean's are put off, including Lablache's, Mrs. Anderson's, Guazzaroni's, &c., &c., and we see *nobody*. I regret rather my singing-lesson, though it is only for a short period, but duty and *proper feeling* go before *all pleasures*.—10 minutes to 1,—I just hear that the Doctors think my poor Uncle the King cannot last more than 48 hours. Poor man! he was always kind to me, and he *meant* it well I know;

¹ Baron Christian Stockmar (1787–1863), physician to Prince Leopold, and subsequently his confidential agent. He abandoned medicine for statecraft, in which he became an expert. He was entrusted by King Leopold to superintend the education of Prince Albert and guide Queen Victoria, both of which services he performed with consummate tact and integrity. He was their devoted friend and counsellor to the end of his life.

I am grateful for it, and shall ever remember his kindness with gratitude. He was odd, very odd and singular, but his intentions were often ill interpreted!—Wrote my journal. At about a $\frac{1}{4}$ p. 2 came Lord Liverpool and I had a highly important conversation with him—*alone*. . . .

Tuesday, 20th June.—I was awoke at 6 o'clock by Mamma, who told me that the Archbishop of Canterbury¹ and Lord Conyngham were here, and wished to see me. I got out of bed and went into my sitting-room (only in my dressing-gown), and *alone*, and saw them. Lord Conyngham (the Lord Chamberlain) then acquainted me that my poor Uncle, the King, was no more, and had expired at 12 minutes p. 2 this morning, and consequently that I am *Queen*. Lord Conyngham knelt down and kissed my hand, at the same time delivering to me the official announcement of the poor King's demise. The Archbishop then told me that the Queen was desirous that he should come and tell me the details of the last moments of my poor, good Uncle; he said that he had directed his mind to religion, and had died in a perfectly happy, quiet state of mind, and was quite prepared for his death. He added that the King's sufferings at the last were not very great but that there was a good deal of uneasiness. Lord Conyngham, whom I charged to express my feelings of condolence and sorrow to the poor Queen, returned directly to Windsor. I then went to my room and dressed.

Since it has pleased Providence to place me in this station, I shall do my utmost to fulfil my duty towards my country; I am very young and perhaps in many, though not in all things, inexperienced, but I am sure, that very few have more real good will and more real desire to do what is fit and right than I have.

Breakfasted, during which time good faithful Stockmar came and talked to me. Wrote a letter to dear Uncle Leopold and a few words to dear good Feodore.

¹ Dr. Howley. In the opinion of Lord Grey and the Whigs "a poor miserable creature," but in reality a worthy conscientious prelate.

Received a letter from Lord Melbourne¹ in which he said he would wait upon me at a little before 9. At 9 came Lord Melbourne, whom I saw in my room, and of course *quite* alone as I shall *always* do all my Ministers. He kissed my hand and I then acquainted him that it had long been my intention to retain him and the rest of the present Ministry at the head of affairs, and that it could not be in better hands than his. He then again kissed my hand. He then read to me the Declaration which I was to read to the Council, which he wrote himself and which is a very fine one. I then talked with him some little longer time, after which he left me. He was in full dress. I like him very much and feel confidence in him. He is a very straightforward, honest, clever and good man. I then wrote a letter to the Queen. At about 11 Lord Melbourne came again to me and spoke to me on various subjects. At about $\frac{1}{2}$ past 11 I went downstairs and held a Council in the red saloon. I went in of course quite alone, and remained seated the whole time. My two Uncles, the Dukes of Cumberland² and Sussex,³ and Lord Melbourne conducted me. The declaration, the various forms, the swearing in of the Privy Councillors, of which there were a great number present, and the reception of some of the Lords of Council, previous to the Council in an adjacent room (likewise alone) I sub-join here. I was not at all nervous and had the satisfaction of hearing that people were satisfied with what I had done and how I had done it. Receiving after this, Audiences of Lord Melbourne, Lord John Russell, Lord

¹ William Lamb, Viscount Melbourne (1779-1848), was at this time Prime Minister and fifty-eight years old.

² Ernest Augustus (1771-1851), fifth son of George III. He was considered unscrupulous, and was certainly most unpopular in this country. He now succeeded William IV. as King of Hanover. Although of autocratic temperament, he granted his subjects a democratic constitution, much to their surprise.

³ Augustus Frederick (1773-1843), sixth son of George III. His marriage to Lady Augusta Murray was declared void under the Royal Marriages Act. He had by her two children, Sir Augustus d'Este and Mlle. d'Este (afterwards wife of Lord Chancellor Truro). He married, secondly, Lady Cecilia Buggin (*née* Gore, daughter of the Earl of Arran), and to her was granted the title of Duchess of Inverness.

Albemarle (Master of the Horse), and the Archbishop of Canterbury, all in my room and alone. Saw Stockmar. Saw Clark, whom I named my Physician. Saw Mary. Wrote to Uncle Ernest. Saw Ernest Hohenlohe who brought me a kind and very feeling letter from the poor Queen. I feel very much for her, and really feel that the poor good King was always so kind personally to me, that I should be ungrateful were I not to recollect it and feel grieved at his death. The poor Queen is wonderfully composed now, I hear. Wrote my journal. Took my dinner upstairs alone. Went downstairs. Saw Stockmar. At about 20 minutes to 9 came Lord Melbourne and remained till near 10. I had a very important and a very *comfortable* conversation with him. Each time I see him I feel more confidence in him; I find him very kind in his manner too. Saw Stockmar. Went down and said good-night to Mamma &c. My *dear* Lehzen will ALWAYS remain with me as my friend but will take no situation about me, and I think she is right.

Wednesday, 21st June.—At $\frac{1}{2}$ p. 9 I went to St. James's in state. Mamma and Lady Mary Stopford were in my carriage, and Lord Albemarle, Col. Cavendish, Lady Flora Hastings, and Col. Harcourt in the others. . . . After the Proclamation Mamma and the ladies repaired to an adjoining room and left me in the Closet. I gave audiences to Lord Melbourne (a long one), the Earl Marshal (Duke of Norfolk), and Garter King at Arms (Sir William Woods), relative to the funeral of my poor Uncle the late King; to Lord Albemarle, Lord Hill, Lord Melbourne (again for some time), and the Lord President (Lord Lansdowne). I then held a Privy Council in the Throne Room. It was not fully attended and was not the third part so full as it had been on the preceding day. The Marquis of Anglesey,¹ the Chan-

¹ Henry William Paget, first Marquess of Anglesey (1768–1854). Commanded the Cavalry at Waterloo. When a round shot tore between him and the Duke of Wellington, he turned to the Duke and said, “By God! I have lost my leg,” and the Duke replied, “By God! I believe you have.” This conversation sums up

cellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Spring Rice),¹ Lords Wharncliffe,² Ashburton,³ and Wynford,⁴ Sir Hussey Vivian,⁵ and some Judges were sworn in as Privy Counsellors and kissed hands. After the Council I gave audiences to Lord Melbourne, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and all the Bishops except one or two, the Lord Chancellor and all the Judges; Sir Hussey Vivian (Master General of the Ordnance), Lord John Russell, Lord Glenelg,⁶ Mr. Poulett Thomson,⁷ Lord Howick,⁸ Lord Palmerston, and Lord Minto.⁹ I then returned home at 1. I must say it was quite like a dream and a sad one, when I was seated in the Closet where but barely 5 weeks ago I beheld for the last time my poor Uncle.

Thursday, 22nd June.—At 12 came the Judge Advocate General (Mr. Cutlar Ferguson)¹⁰ to submit various

the two men. Lord Anglesey was a Field-Marshal and Viceroy of Ireland, where he displayed a tendency to liberal ideas that were not considered in accordance with his profession or station. There was never a more gallant soldier, and he "had not a fold in his character."

¹ Chancellor of the Exchequer. An intelligent politician and responsible for the adoption of the penny post. He was anxious for the Speakership, but failed to win the fancy of the House of Commons. He passed to the House of Lords as Lord Monteaigle in 1839 and died in 1866.

² James, first Lord Wharncliffe. A Yorkshire magnate and Member of Parliament. Created a Peer 1826.

³ Alexander Baring, first Lord Ashburton (1774-1848). President of the Board of Trade in Lord Grey's Administration.

⁴ Sir William Draper Best (1767-1845), first Lord Wynford, formerly Chief Justice of the Common Pleas.

⁵ A distinguished soldier, at this time Lieut.-General and Master of the Ordnance. M.P. for Windsor. Afterwards created Lord Vivian (1841).

⁶ Charles Grant, first and only Lord Glenelg (1778-1866), at this time Secretary for the Colonies. Three years before he had been proposed as Governor-General of India, but his nomination was rejected by the Board of Directors.

⁷ Afterwards Lord Sydenham (1799-1841). At this time President of the Board of Trade. In 1839 he was appointed Governor-General of Canada. He died there, aged forty-one, from a fall from his horse.

⁸ Henry George, afterwards third Earl Grey (1802-94), at this time Secretary-at-War and Colonial Secretary. An honest and fearless statesman, but a difficult colleague.

⁹ Gilbert, second Earl of Minto (1782-1859), First Lord of the Admiralty. In 1832 he had been sent on a special mission to Berlin "to mollify the King of Prussia." This type of mission has always been popular with the Whigs.

¹⁰ Robert Cutlar Ferguson had been counsel for one of the defendants in the trial of Arthur O'Connor and others for treason at Maidstone in 1798. O'Connor was

sentences of Court Martial to me. He is a very clever intelligent man and explained all the cases very clearly to me. I, of *course*, saw him alone. . . .

Friday, 23rd June.—I do not mention the *VERY frequent* communications I have with Lord Melbourne, Lord John Russell,¹ &c., &c., &c., as also the other official letters I have to write and receive, for want of time and space. Saw good Stockmar, who remained in my room for some time. Saw the Marquis of Conyngham, then Lord Hill, who explained to me finally about the Court Martials, then Sir Henry Wheatley² and Col. Wood, who as Executors of the late King, brought me his will.

Saturday, 24th June.—At 11 came Lord Melbourne and stayed till 12. He is a very honest, good and kind-hearted, as well as very clever man. He told me that Lady Tavistock had accepted the situation. And he read to me the answer which I was to give to the address from the House of Lords. He told me that the Duke of Argyll would bring the Address but would not read it; and consequently I was not to read mine.

Monday, 26th June.—At $\frac{1}{2}$ p. 9 went with Mamma to Windsor. I was attended by Lady Tavistock and Colonel Cavendish,³ and Mamma by Lady Flora Hastings. We arrived at the Castle, which looked very mournful and melancholy with the flag half mast high, at about a $\frac{1}{4}$ p. 11. We went instantly to the poor Queen's apartments.⁴

acquitted, but the presence in Court of Bow Street runners to arrest him on a second charge caused a scene of much confusion, one consequence being the prosecution of Cutlar Ferguson, Lord Thanet, and others for an attempted rescue. Ferguson was imprisoned for a year and fined £100. Upon his liberation he went to Calcutta, where he established himself in large and lucrative practice. He died in 1838.

¹ Lord John Russell (1792–1878) was at this time forty-five years old. Home Secretary and Leader of the House of Commons. He was at the height of his combative powers as a Parliamentarian, and his zeal for Whig doctrine at home and Liberal statesmanship abroad was undiminished.

² Private Secretary to William IV.

³ Colonel the Hon. H. F. C. Cavendish (1789–1873), son of Lord Burlington. Clerk-Marshal to the Queen. Married as his second wife Frances Susan, sister of Lord Durham.

⁴ Queen Adelaide, the Queen Dowager, a Princess of the House of Saxe-

She received me *most kindly* but was at first much affected. She however soon regained her self-possession and was wonderfully calm and composed. She gave us many painfully interesting details of the illness and last moments of my poor Uncle the late King. He bore his dreadful sufferings with the most exemplary patience and always thanked Heaven when these sufferings were but slightly and momentarily alleviated. He was in the happiest state of mind possible and his death was worthy his high station. He felt so composed and seemed to find so much consolation in Religion. The Queen is really a most estimable and excellent person and she bears the prospect of the great change she must soon go through in leaving Windsor and changing her position in a most admirable, strong and high-minded manner. I do not think her looking ill and the widow's cap and weeds rather become her.

I forgot to say that Lord Melbourne told me that the Duchess of Sutherland¹ has accepted the office of Mistress of the Robes, and the Countess of Charlemont² of one of my ladies of the Bedchamber. At $\frac{1}{2}$ p. 2 came the Duchess of Sutherland, whom I am delighted to have as my Mistress of the Robes; she was looking so handsome and nice. At about 10 minutes to 4 came Lord Melbourne and stayed till $\frac{1}{2}$ p. 4. I talked with him as usual on Political affairs, about my Household, and various other *Confidential* affairs. . . .

Tuesday, 27th June.—At a little after $\frac{1}{2}$ p. 12 came Lord Palmerston and stayed till a little p. 1. He is a clever and agreeable man. Saw Lord John Russell and Lord Melbourne for a minute. At a few minutes p. 2 I went down into the saloon with Lady Lansdowne; Col. Cavenish, the Vice-Chamberlain (Lord Charles Fitzoy),³ and the Comptroller (Mr. Byng)⁴ were in waiting. Lord

Meiningen. Her attitude towards the young Queen was absolutely perfect, in its simple dignity and freedom from every taint of envy.

¹ Georgina Howard, daughter of the sixth Earl of Carlisle.

² Anne, wife of Francis William, second Earl of Charlemont.

³ Second son of the fourth Duke of Grafton.

⁴ George Byng, afterwards second Earl of Stafford.

Melbourne then came in and announced that the Addresses from the House of Commons were ready to come in. They were read by Lord John Russell, and I read an answer to both. Lord Melbourne stood on my left hand and Lady Lansdowne behind me. Most of the Privy Councillors of the House of Commons were present. After this Lord Palmerston brought in the Earl of Durham,¹ who is just returned from St. Petersburg. I conferred on him the Grand Cross of the Bath. I knighted him with the Sword of State which is so enormously heavy that Lord Melbourne was obliged to hold it for me, and I only inclined it. I then put the ribbon over his shoulder. After this the foreign Ambassadors and Ministers were severally introduced to me by Lord Palmerston. I then went upstairs and gave audiences to the Earl of Mulgrave² and to the Earl of Durham. The latter gave a long account of Russia. Did various things.

Saturday, 1st July.—I repeat what I said before that I have *so many* communications from the Ministers, and from me to them, and I get so many papers to sign *every* day, that I have always a *very great* deal to do; but for want of time and space I do not write these things down. I *delight* in this work. Saw Lord Melbourne. At about $\frac{1}{2}$ p. 11 or a $\frac{1}{4}$ to 12 came Mr. Spring Rice. Saw Lord John Russell. Wrote &c. At 2 came Sir Henry Wheatley to kiss hands upon being appointed my Privy Purse.

Sunday, 2nd July.—At 10 minutes to 2 came Lord Melbourne till a few minutes p. 3. Talked with him

¹ Lord Durham, by his charming manners, had overcome certain prejudice which had been felt in St. Petersburg on his appointment. He was exceedingly popular with the Emperor. He returned to England, it was said, "a greater aristocrat than ever."

² Lord Mulgrave was created Marquess of Normanby in 1838. A member of Lord Melbourne's Administration in 1834, he was sent to Ireland as Viceroy, and then returned to the Cabinet as Secretary of State. While the Whigs were in office he was never without a place. He was subsequently Ambassador in Paris, and under Lord Palmerston supported Napoleon III. through the stormy days of the *coup d'état*.

about many important things. He is indeed a most truly honest, straightforward and noble-minded man and I esteem myself *most* fortunate to have such a man at the head of the Government; a man in whom I can safely place confidence. There are not *many* like him in this world of deceit!

Saturday, 8th July.—At a $\frac{1}{4}$ p. 7 I, Mamma, Mary and Lehzen dined, Charles having gone at 5 o'clock to Windsor to attend the funeral of my poor Uncle, the late King. It was very very sad to hear from $\frac{1}{2}$ p. 8 till nearly 10 o'clock those dreadful minute guns! Alas! my poor Uncle, he now reposes in quiet and peace! As Lord Melbourne said to me, the first morning when I became Queen, that the poor King “had his faults as we all have, but that he possessed many valuable qualities.” I have heard from all sides that he was really very fond of me, and I shall *ever* retain a grateful sense of his kindness to me and shall never forget him. Life is short and uncertain, and I am determined to employ my time well, so that when I am called away from this world my end may be a peaceful and a happy one! . . .

Wednesday, 12th July.—At a little before 2 I went with Mamma and the Duchess of Sutherland (in my carriage), Charles and Mary and Lady Tavistock and Lord Albemarle (in the next carriage), and Lady Mary Stopford and Colonel Cavendish in another. I was in full dress and wore the Order of the Bath. I went in state with a large escort. I was received at the door by the Lord Chamberlain, the Lord Steward, &c., &c., and was by them conducted into the Closet, where some people kissed hands. I then went into the Throne Room, Lord Conyngham handing me in, and a Page of Honour (Master Ellice) bearing my train. I sat on the Throne. Mamma and Mary stood on the steps of the Throne on one side, and the Duchess of Sutherland and Lady Tavistock stood near me (behind). I then received the two Addresses (of which, as also of all the other things, I subjoin an account), and read Answers to both. I then returned to the Closet; and went into another room to

put on the Mantle of the Bath¹ (of crimson satin lined with white silk); I then saw Lord Melbourne in the Closet for a few minutes. After this I went again into the Throne-room, and seated myself on the Throne. I then conferred the Order of the Bath (*not sitting* of course) upon Prince Esterhazy. After this I held a Privy Council. After the Council I gave audiences to the Earl of Yarborough² (who thanked me very much for having appointed his amiable daughter, Lady Charlotte Copley, one of my Bedchamber Women); to Lord Melbourne, Lord John Russell, Lord Mulgrave, and Lord Hill. I then left the Palace, the Duchess of Sutherland (who looked lovely, as she always does), and Lady Tavistock, going with me in my carriage, in the same way as I came, and got home at a $\frac{1}{4}$ to 5. . . .

Thursday, 13th July.—Got up at 8. At $\frac{1}{2}$ p. 9 we breakfasted. It was the *last time* that I slept in this poor old Palace,³ as I go into Buckingham Palace to-day. Though I rejoice to go into B.P. for many reasons, it is not without feelings of regret that I shall bid adieu *for ever* (that is to say *for ever* as a DWELLING), to this my birth-place, where I have been born and bred, and to which I am really attached! I have seen my dear sister married here, I have seen many of my dear relations here, I have had pleasant balls and *delicious* concerts

¹ There is no record of any previous Sovereign wearing the robes of the Bath on such an occasion. Certainly they have never been worn since. A little later in her reign the Queen was always reluctant to exchange the red ribbon of the Bath for the blue ribbon of the Garter. By the advice of Lord Melbourne, however, she was in the habit of wearing the red ribbon when holding an investiture of the Order.

² He had just been created Earl of Yarborough. Lady Charlotte was the wife of Sir Joseph Copley. He died in 1846.

³ The Queen always retained a strong sentiment for Kensington Palace. Part of the old building had been condemned by the Office of Works to be pulled down, but the Queen refused her sanction. During the last year of her reign the Queen made an arrangement with Lord Salisbury and Sir M. Hicks-Beach that, in consideration of Her Majesty giving up the use of Bushey House and the Ranger's House at Greenwich, the Government should purchase and place at her disposal Schomberg House, and should restore Kensington Palace. Parliament voted £36,000 for this purpose, on the understanding that the State Rooms should be opened to the public.

here, my present rooms upstairs are really very pleasant, comfortable and pretty, and *enfin* I like this poor Palace. I have held my first Council here too! I have gone through painful and disagreeable scenes here, 'tis true, but still I am fond of the poor old Palace. At a little after 2 I went with Mamma and Lady Lansdowne (in my carriage), Lehzen, and Col. Cavendish (in the next) to Buckingham Palace. I am much pleased with my rooms.¹ They are high, pleasant and cheerful. Arranged things.

Friday, 14th July.—At a few minutes to 2 I went with Mamma and the Duchess of Sutherland (in my carriage), Lady Charlemont and Lord Albemarle (in the next carriage), and Charles, Mary, and Lady Flora (in the other) to St. James's. I was in full dress and wore the blue ribbon and star of the Garter, and the Garter round my arm. I was received in the same way as before. I went into the Throne Room, sat on the Throne, and received three Addresses in the same way as on Friday. Two of the addresses were very fully attended and the room became intensely hot. I then put on the Mantle and Collar of the Garter (of dark blue velvet lined with white silk). Gave a few minutes audience to Lord Melbourne. I then went into the Throne Room (did not sit on the Throne), held a Chapter of the Garter and conferred that Order on Charles. Mamma, Charles and Mary went away immediately after this, but I remained and gave a long audience to Lord Melbourne, who read to me the Speech which I am to deliver when I prorogue Parliament. He reads so well and with *so* much good feeling. I am sorry to see him still looking ill. I then saw the Duke of Devonshire. Came home with my two Ladies at $\frac{1}{2}$ p. 4.

Saturday, 15th July.—At a few minutes p. 2 I went into one of the large drawing-rooms and held a Cabinet Council, at which were present all the Ministers. The Council lasted but a very short while. I then went into

¹ These are the rooms now occupied by Queen Mary. The "audience" room opened out of the sitting-room.

my Closet and received Lord Melbourne there. He stayed with me till 20 minutes to 4. He seemed and said he was better. He has such an honest, frank, and yet gentle manner. He talks so quietly. I always feel peculiarly satisfied when I have talked with him. I have great confidence in him. After dinner, at 10 o'clock came Thalberg,¹ the most famous pianist in the world! He played four things, all by heart. They were all Fantasias by him; (1) on *The Preghiera of Mosè*, (2) on "God save the King" and "Rule Britannia," (3) on *Norma*, (4) on *Les Huguenots*. Never, never did I hear anything at all like him! He combines the most exquisite, delicate and touching feeling with the most wonderful and powerful execution! He is unique and I am quite in ecstasies and raptures with him. I sat quite near the piano and it is quite extraordinary to watch his hands, which are large, but fine and graceful. He draws tones and sounds from the piano which no one else can do. He is unique. He is quite young, about 25, small, delicate-looking, a very pleasing countenance, and extremely gentlemanlike. He is modest to a degree and very agreeable to talk to. J'étais en extase! . . .

Monday, 17th July.—At $\frac{1}{2}$ p. 1 I went in state to the House of Lords, with the Duchess of Sutherland and the Master of the Horse in my carriage, and Lady Lansdowne and Lady Mulgrave in another. Had I time I would give a very minute account of the whole, but as I have very little, I will only say what I feel I wish particularly to name. I went first to the Robing-room, but as there was so many people there I went to a Dressing-room where I put on the Robe which is enormously heavy. After this I entered the House of Lords preceded by all the Officers of State and Lord Melbourne bearing the Sword of State walking just

¹ Sigismund Thalberg (1812-71) was now in the full flood of success. He wrote many fantasias on operatic themes, e.g. on *Robert le Diable*, *Zampa*, etc. In 1845 he married a widow, the daughter of Lablache. As a composer he never succeeded in emulating his success as a pianist. Later in life he abandoned music, and became a professional vine-grower.

before me. He stood quite close to me on the left-hand of the Throne, and I feel always a satisfaction to have him near me on such occasions, as he is such an honest, good, kind-hearted man and is my *friend*, I know it. The Lord Chancellor stood on my left. The house was very full and I felt somewhat (but very little) nervous before I read my speech, but it did very well, and I was happy to hear people were satisfied. I then unrobed in the Library and came home as I went, at 20 minutes p. 3. . . .

Wednesday, 19th July.—I gave audiences to various foreign Ambassadors, amongst which were Count Orloff,¹ sent by the Emperor of Russia to compliment me. He presented me with a letter from the Empress of Russia accompanied by the Order of St. Catherine all set in diamonds. (I, of course, as I generally do every evening, wore the Garter.) The Levee began immediately after this and lasted till $\frac{1}{2}$ p. 4 without one minute's interruption. I had my hand kissed nearly 3000 times! I then held a Council, at which were present almost all the Ministers. After this I saw Lord Melbourne for a little while, and then Lord Palmerston. . . .

Wednesday, 9th August.—At 7 minutes to 12 came Lord Melbourne and stayed till a $\frac{1}{4}$ to 2. Talked over many serious subjects. I'm somewhat anxious about the Elections but I trust in Heaven that we shall have a Majority for us, and that the present Government may remain firm for *long*. Lord Melbourne spoke so candidly, so disinterestedly, and so calmly about all this.

Tuesday, 15th August.—Put on my habit and went with dear Lehzen, Miss Cavendish,² Lord Albemarle, Col. Cavendish, Col. Buckley and Stockmar, to the Mews, which are in the garden. The Riding-house is very large. Sir George Quentin and Mr. Fozard (who has

¹ Alexis, Count Orloff, famous both as general and diplomatist. He had fought in the war of 1829 against Turkey, and signed the Treaty of Adrianople in 1829. He had been sent to enlist English sympathies for Holland as against Belgium in 1832. He also was a signatory of the important treaty of Unkiar Skelessi, and represented Russia in the Congress of Paris in 1856.

² Sarah Mary, daughter of Col. the Hon. H. F. Cavendish. Afterwards wife of 2nd Earl Cawdor.

a situation in my Stables) &c., were there. I had not ridden for 2 years! I first rode a bay horse, a delightful one called Ottoman, and cantered about a good while. I then tried for a minute another horse which I did not like so well. I then remounted Ottoman. After him I mounted a beautiful and very powerful but delightful grey horse, a Hanoverian, called Fearon. Miss Cavendish rode also the whole time; she rides very nicely.

WINDSOR CASTLE, *Tuesday, 22nd August.*—At $\frac{1}{2}$ p. 2 I went with Mamma, Lady Charlotte Copley, and Lady Flora in my carriage; dear Lehzen, Miss Cocks, Miss Cavendish, and Col. Buckley going in the other, to Windsor Castle, where I arrived at $\frac{1}{2}$ p. 5. I had escort of Lancers. All along the road the people were very loyal and civil, and my poor native place, Kensington, particularly so. When we reached the Long Walk at Windsor a larger escort of the 1st Life Guards met me; the Walk was thronged with people, where a dinner was given to them in honour of my arrival. The people were remarkably friendly and civil. Unfortunately it began to rain before we reached the Long Walk. Windsor looked somewhat gloomy and I cannot help feeling as though I was not the Mistress of the House and as if I was to see the poor King and Queen. There is sadness about the whole which I must say I feel. Lady Tavistock, who is in waiting for 4 weeks, Lord Conyngham, and the Lord Steward received me at the door. I inhabit the Queen's rooms, though not in the same way as she did.

Tuesday, 29th August.—At 7 o'clock arrived my *dearest most beloved* Uncle Leopold and my *dearest most beloved* Aunt Louise. They *are both*, and *look both, very well*; dearest Aunt Louise is looking so well and is grown *quite* fat. I and Mamma as well as my whole court were all at the door to receive them. It is an inexpressible *happiness and joy* to me, to have these dearest beloved relations with me and in *my own* house. I took them to their rooms, and then hastened to dress for dinner.

Friday, 1st September.— . . . I rode Monarch who went delightfully, and Aunt Louise and Mamma the same

horses as the preceding day. The weather looked lowering when we went out. When we were about the middle of Queen Anne's Walk, there came a most unexpected and violent flash of lightning which was followed instantaneously by a tremendous clap of thunder. My horse jumped a little, but very little, but Aunt Louise's being very much alarmed by the thunder, *ran away, full gallop*, to our great horror, and poor dear Aunt lost her hat; thank God! the horse stopped after 100 yards at the foot of a hill and was led back. We had meanwhile got into a close carriage with the three ladies, and dear Aunt Louise who was not the *least* frightened but only "quite ashamed" as she said, also got in, and we drove home (all six) in a tremendous thunder-storm and deluge of rain. We reached home in perfect safety at 5 o'clock. . . .

Friday, 8th September.—How I wish I had time to take *minutes* of the very interesting and highly important conversations I have with my Uncle and with Lord Melbourne; the sound observations they make, and the impartial advice they give me would make a most interesting book.

Tuesday, 12th September.—The rest of the evening I sat on the sofa with dearest Aunt Louise, who played a game at chess with me, to *teach* me, and Lord Melbourne sat near me. Lord Tavistock, Lord Palmerston, Mrs. Cavendish, Sir J. Hobhouse and Mme. de Mérode,¹ sat round the table. Lord Melbourne, Lord Palmerston, Sir J. Hobhouse, and later too Lord Conyngham, all gave me advice, and *all different* advice, about my playing at chess, and *all* got so *eager* that it was very amusing; in particular Lord Palmerston and Sir J. Hobhouse,² who differed totally and got quite excited and serious about it. Between them all, I got quite beat, and Aunt Louise triumphed over my Council of Ministers! . . .

¹ Wife of M. de Mérode, who was First Minister in Belgium and a faithful friend to King Leopold.

² Lord Broughton (Sir John Hobhouse), in his *Reminiscences*, refers to this game of chess, and to the slight confusion there was between "the two Queens on the board and the two Queens at the table"

Thursday, 28th September.—At 12 Lord Melbourne came to me and stayed with me till 10 m. p. 1. Dressed, in a habit of dark blue with red collar and cuffs (the Windsor Uniform which all my gentlemen wear), a military cap, and my Order of the Garter, as I was going to review the Troops. At 2 I mounted Leopold, who was very handsomely harnessed; all the gentlemen were in uniform, that is to say Lord Hill, Lord Alfred Paget¹ (who looked remarkably handsome in his uniform of the Blues), Prince Lichtenstein,² Baron Reischach, &c., and my other gentlemen wore the Windsor uniform with cocked hats. Mamma and Miss Cavendish rode, as did also my pretty little page, George Cavendish, who looked so pretty in his uniform, mounted on a little pony all harnessed like a large horse. Lord Palmerston also rode. All the other ladies and gentlemen, including Lord Melbourne, drove in carriages after us. The Lancers escorted us. When we came upon the ground, which is in the Home Park, I rode up with the whole party to where a Sergeant was stationed with the colours, and there stopped, and the regiments saluted me. I saluted them by putting my hand to my cap like the officers do, and was much admired for my manner of doing so. I then cantered up to the Lines with all the gentlemen and rode along them. Leopold behaved most beautifully, so quietly, the Bands really playing *in* his face. I then cantered back to my first position and there remained while the Troops marched by in slow and quick time, and when they manœuvred, which they did beautifully. The Troops consisted of the 1st Regiment of Life Guards who are beautiful, of the Grenadier Guards, and of some of the Lancers. They fired and skirmished a good deal, and near us, and Leopold never moved. The whole went off beautifully; and I felt for

¹ Equerry to the Queen, son of the first Marquess of Anglesey by his second marriage with Lady Charlotte Cadogan. Sometime M.P. for Lichfield and Clerk-Marshall of the Royal Household. Lord Broughton described him as "a handsome Calmuck-looking young fellow."

² Prince Aloysius Joseph de Lichtenstein succeeded his father, Jean Joseph in 1836.

the first time like a man, as if I could fight myself at the head of my Troops.

Saturday, 30th September.—At a $\frac{1}{2}$ to 12 came the Queen with her sister the Duchess of Saxe-Weimar and stayed with me till 1 o'clock. The poor Queen was very much composed, though it must have been a very painful and severe trial for her, considering she had not been here since she left the Castle, the night after the poor King's funeral. I showed her all my rooms with which she was much pleased; and she went by herself to see the room where the King died. I sang a little and Mamma also, while they were there. . . .

Tuesday, 3rd October.—At $\frac{1}{2}$ p. 3 I rode out with Mamma, Lord Melbourne, Lord Palmerston, Lady Mary, Lord Torrington, Mr. Murray, Mr. Brand, Col., Mrs. and Miss Cavendish, and Miss Murray, and came home at 6. We rode all round Virginia Water, a beautiful ride, and cantered almost the whole way home. It was the hottest summer evening that can be imagined, not a breath of air, and hotter coming home than going out. Alas! it was our last ride here! I am *very sorry* indeed to go! I passed such a very pleasant time here; the pleasantest summer I EVER passed in *my life*, and I shall never forget this first summer of my Reign. I have had the *great* happiness of having my beloved Uncle and Aunt here with me, I have had very pleasant people and kind friends staying with me, and I have had *delicious* rides which have done me a world of good. Lord Melbourne rode near me the whole time. The more I see of him and the more I know of him, the more I like and appreciate his fine and honest character.

BRIGHTON, Wednesday, 1st November.—At $\frac{1}{2}$ p. 10 my excellent, kind friend Lord Melbourne came to me and stayed with me till 12. Talked over many things; and talked over some *disagreeable business* about which Lord Melbourne is *very kind* (as he is about *everything*, for he is the best-hearted, kindest and most feeling man in the world) and very anxious. Showed him dear Ferdinand's letter. Poor Ferdinand's position and the unfortunate

state of Portuguese affairs distress him much: he takes everything so much to heart, which is generally not the case with a Statesman. I observed to Lord Melbourne that there were not many very good preachers to be found; he replied in the affirmative and added, "But there are not *many very good anything*," which is *very true*. . . . I then took leave of him, told him I was very sorry he went, to which he replied he was also very sorry. I shall see him again however on Saturday when I go to town. I am *very sorry* to lose his agreeable company (as I always like to have those who are kind to me, and *my* friends, with me) these last days here. I always saw Lord Melbourne in my little sitting-rooms I being seated on a sofa, and he in an armchair near or close opposite me; the other ministers and visitors I saw in another little room just the same size as this one, where Lehzen always sits; it is close to the other, one little room only being between the two. . . .

BUCKINGHAM PALACE, *Thursday, 9th November*.—Dressed for the Lord Mayor's dinner, in *all my finery*. At 2 I went in the state carriage and 8 horses with the Duchess of Sutherland and Lord Albemarle; all my suite, the Royal Family, &c., went before me. I reached the Guildhall at a little before 4. Throughout my progress to the city, I met with the most gratifying, affectionate, hearty and brilliant reception from the greatest concourse of people I ever witnessed; the streets being *immensely crowded* as were also the windows, houses, churches, balconies, every where. I was then conducted by the Lord Chamberlain, the Lord Mayor and Lady Mayoress preceding me, and my whole suite following me,—to a private drawing-room, where I found Mamma, the Duchess of Gloucester, the Duchess of Cambridge, and Augusta, and all their Ladies. All my Ladies came in there. After waiting some little time, I sent for Lord Melbourne and Lord John Russell, to ask them some questions, and they came in for a minute or two, and then went away. After waiting a little longer, I was conducted by Lord Conyngham in the same way as

before, the Royal Family and my Ladies &c. following, to the Council Room, where were the Dukes of Sussex and Cambridge and George,—all my Ministers, all the Foreign Ambassadors and Ministers, &c. &c., the Lord Mayor, all the Aldermen, the Lady Mayoress and all the Aldermen's wives. I was seated in a large arm-chair, all the others standing. The Recorder then read an Address, to which I read an answer; when the Lord Mayor was presented I said to Lord John Russell (what I had previously been told to do), "I desire you to take proper measures for conferring the dignity of Baronet on the Lord Mayor." I then knighted the Sheriffs, one of whom was Mr. Montefiore, a Jew, an excellent man¹; and I was very glad that I was the first to do what I think quite right, as it should be. The Lady Mayoress and all the Aldermen's wives were then presented. After this we returned, as before, to the Private Drawing room and remained there till $\frac{1}{4}$ p. 5 when we went to dinner. . . . I drank a glass of wine with the Lord Mayor (John Cowan) and the late Lord Mayor. The Lord Mayor is a quiet little old man of 70 (they say). When my health was given out, there was great cheering and applause. I left dinner in the same way I came in at about $\frac{1}{2}$ p. 7; and we went as before into the Private Drawing room and waited there till the carriages were ready. All the Royal Family went away before me. I cannot say how gratified, and how *touched* I am by the very brilliant, affectionate, cordial, enthusiastic and *unanimous* reception I met with in this the *greatest* Metropolis in the *World*; there was not a discontented look, not a sign of displeasure—all loyalty, affection and loud greeting from the immense multitude I passed through; and no disorder whatever. I feel *deeply*

¹ Sir Moses Montefiore (1784–1885), created a baronet in 1846. His life, prolonged for over a hundred years, was one of flawless generosity and personal kindness to the poor and afflicted of his own race, especially in the eastern provinces of Russia and Turkey. He obtained consideration for poor Jews from the Russian and Turkish Governments, and his seven pilgrimages to Jerusalem were all undertaken with a view to improving the questionable lot of the Chosen People.

grateful for this display of affection and unfeigned loyalty and *attachment* from my good people. It is much more than I deserve, and I shall do my utmost to render myself worthy of all this love and affection. I had a very bad headache in the morning, but it went off during all the ceremonies; it was somewhat bad when I came home, but I went to bed immediately after I had signed a few papers. . . .

Friday, 17th November.— . . . After dinner I went at $\frac{1}{2}$ p. 6 with all the dinner party, except Lehzen (who again went with Mr. Rich to the play in a box opposite), Miss Davys (who did not go), and Lord Alfred Paget (who was on the escort and rode by the carriage), to the play at Covent Garden, the Duchess of Sutherland and Lord Albemarle going with me in the carriage. I met with the same brilliant reception, the house being *so* full that there was a great piece of work for want of room, and many people had to be *pulled* out of the Pit by their wrists and arms into the Dress Circle. I never saw such an exhibition; it was the oddest thing I ever saw. My Ladies took it by turns (their standing behind me, I mean). Mamma sat near me, and Lady Mary stood behind her. The performances were the fine but dreadful tragedy of *Werner* by Lord Byron, and the 1st act of *Fra Diavolo*. . . .

Monday, 20th November.—At $\frac{1}{2}$ p. 1 I went in the State Carriage with the Duchess of Sutherland and Lord Albemarle; Lady Lansdowne, Lady Barham, and all my gentlemen (except Lord Conyngham who went as a Peer and not in my suite), and 3 Pages, going in 6 other carriages, to the House of Lords to open Parliament. I arrived there at 2, and was conducted to the Library—all the Great Officers of State, the Lord Chancellor, the Lord President, the Lord Privy Seal, preceding me—Lord Melbourne walking quite close before me bearing the sword of state. I robed in the Library, all the above-mentioned people, my ladies and gentlemen, being there, and then proceeded into the House of Lords—the manner of going in being the same as before—and seated myself

on the Throne ; Lord Melbourne standing quite close to me on my left ; I feel a satisfaction in having this excellent man near me on such important public occasions. I read the Declaration about Transubstantiation, or rather repeated it after the Chancellor—the Commons having been summoned to the Bar. After this I read the Speech (which I think an excellent one) and which people were pleased to say I read well. The House was very full. I then returned to the Library and unrobed. Good, kind Melbourne was quite touched to tears after I read the Speech. I could only say a few words to him. I got Lord Melbourne's despatch while I was at dinner, and I left the table for a minute to read it. Lord Melbourne likewise informed me that "the Address was voted without a dissentient voice"; and that the Duke of Wellington spoke fairly; adhering to his declaration of last Session, and saying that the manner in which the Measures for Ireland were mentioned in the Speech would facilitate his intention to support Ministers in their measures. None of the Ministers spoke. I hail this bright and unanimous beginning as an auspicious augury of the coming Session and I trust that all will do well. . . .

Friday, 24th November.— . . . Saw Lord Conyngham and Edwin Landseer, who brought a beautiful little sketch which he has done this morning, of a picture he is to paint for me of Hector and Dash. He is an unassuming, pleasing and very young-looking man, with fair hair.

Tuesday, 28th November.— . . . At 20 m. to 1 came Lord Melbourne and stayed with me till 2. I was glad to see him looking well and in high spirits. He said it was "a very good debate" in the House of Lords; that the Duke of Wellington had been somewhat eager but had been put down. The House sat till p. 11, and Lord Melbourne only got his dinner then. I showed him Lord John's account of the Debate in the H. of Commons. He said there was a good deal in this *large* majority as the Opposition had made rather a

point of it to carry it. Lord Melbourne was quite touched in saying this, as he knows how anxious I am the Government should be *firm* for the peace of the Country and for my own peace and happiness; as also when he spoke of the readiness with which the Civil List would be voted.

Wednesday, 29th November.— . . . At 20 m. p. 12 Lord Melbourne came to me and stayed with me till 2. He told me there had been a very short debate upon the Duke of Newcastle's¹ bringing in a Bill for the Repeal of the Catholic Emancipation Act (a most absurd idea). He (the Duke of Newcastle) was only supported by Lord Lorton² and Lord Winchilsea. Lord Melbourne and Lord Brougham spoke. I read the speech of the former (Lord Melbourne) in the papers; it is, as all his speeches and sayings are, remarkably judicious and clever. . . . At $\frac{1}{2}$ p. 7 we dined. . . . I sat between the Duke of Wellington and the Marquis Conyngham. The former I thought looking very old, and silent and out of spirits. I think he does not feel *à son aise dans sa position*. . . .

Monday, 4th December.—About 10 m. to 1 came Lord Melbourne and stayed with me till 2. Talked about many things, and amongst others about the Pensions which give so much trouble. Lord Melbourne said he thought it "quite an abomination to meddle with the pensions" which people now had; that upon the whole, hereafter, he was rather against giving pensions, for he said, "if people know that you have the power to grant them, they apply without end, and it is very difficult to refuse"; "it requires," he added, "nerves of *iron* to refuse," and "if you have none to give away, why there is an end of it." I think this is all very true. . . .

¹ Henry, fourth Duke. He had been so strenuous an opponent of the Reform Bill, that, after its rejection, a mob set fire to Nottingham Castle, his property. Mr. Gladstone was M.P. for Newark owing to the Duke's influence, which was withdrawn in 1845 when Mr. Gladstone supported Peel on the Corn Laws.

² Robert Edward, second son of the second Earl of Kingston, born 1773. He was a Lieut.-General and was created Viscount Lorton in the Irish peerage in 1806. He was a Representative Peer.

Wednesday, 6th December.—At 1 came Lord Melbourne and stayed with me till a $\frac{1}{4}$ p. 2. He told me that there was a good deal of speaking in the House of Lords yesterday, upon the 2nd reading of the Imprisonment for Debt Bill, and that they sat till 10 o'clock. The bill, though opposed in detail, by some, was read a 2nd time, and was referred to a Committee. In the House of Commons, the Municipal Corporation Bill for Ireland was introduced without opposition. There was some debate upon an affair of the dismissal of a Col. Verner in Ireland (which was done, as Lord Melbourne told me at Windsor, against his (Lord M.'s) wish, and which he still dislikes, but which cannot be helped now), on account of a toast he gave at a public dinner. Lord Morpeth quite put him (Col. Verner) down, by "a triumphant speech," as Lord John wrote me word; I always shew these reports of Lord John to Lord Melbourne. . . . Lord Melbourne led me in, and I sat between him and Lord Canning, who is exceedingly shy. Lord Melbourne was in good spirits and we talked a good deal upon various subjects; I made him laugh very much by telling him what the Duchess of Sutherland told me *he* had told *her* about Lord Brougham's speech on education, which was: "That it was tiresome to hear, tiresome to educate, and tiresome to be educated." He said, "I think it is very true."

Friday, 8th December.—Lord Melbourne sat near me the whole evening. He talked to me about the play, about Joan of Arc, whom he admires, and said, "It is clearly proved that what she did is not to be attributed to any impropriety of conduct." Many historians have chosen to blemish the character of this poor, innocent maid, who was *so* great. He asked me if I had ever read Barante's *History of the Princes of the House of Burgundy*, in 8 vols., which gives a whole account of Joan; which I have not. M. de Barante is French Ambassador at St. Petersburg. Lord Melbourne also spoke to me of Lord Ashley, who he says is a very good man; and less eager in Politics than he was; Lord Ashley is a high

Tory. He "adores" Lady Ashley, Lord Melbourne says. Lord Melbourne also told me that when I first came to the Throne, Lord Ashley "wrote to Emily" (Lady Cowper) "and said, 'Why, it's shocking that Lord Melbourne has only put Whig ladies about the Queen'; upon which Lady Cowper said, 'Why, Lady Barham is not such a great Whig'; 'Oh!' said Ashley, '*she* is quite terrible, *she* is the worst of all.'" This amused me much. There is no end to the amusing anecdotes and stories Lord Melbourne tells, and he tells them all in such an amusing funny way. Spoke to me about horses; he told me his pretty black mare is rather crippled by his travelling her about so much, and that she must get rest.

Saturday, 9th December.—Lord Melbourne spoke to me about several of the speakers in the House of Commons; spoke of Sir E. Sugden¹ whom he says is a very clever lawyer, and said: "His father was a haircutter; he cut my hair very often." This is a singular thing. Told me of an affront which the "Demagogue Hunt"² offered William Peel one day, in the House of Commons, on the latter's attacking him. William Peel said something derogatory about Hunt's extraction, upon which Hunt replied; "If *my* father was the *first gentleman* of his family, *your* father was the *last gentleman* of his family." . . .

Tuesday, 12th December.— . . . Lord Melbourne, though looking pale, I was happy to see in very good spirits. A few minutes after we had sat down, he turned to me and said, "We have had a great *set-to* in the House of Lords." He added that Lord Brougham³ had made an

¹ Edward Sugden (1781-1875). Afterwards Lord St. Leonards, and Lord Chancellor in the Derby Administration of 1852. A dry but efficient lawyer, an excellent interpreter of any man's Will but his own, which was disputed.

² Henry Hunt had been a great agitator, notably in the years 1816-20. He was elected for Preston in 1830.

³ Lord Brougham, not having been included in the second Administration of Lord Melbourne, was unsparing in his criticisms of his old colleagues. As Lord Melbourne once pointed out in reply to one of Brougham's brilliant attacks, the reasons for excluding Lord Brougham from any Ministry must have been very grave, if measured by the obvious reasons for including him.

unexpected opposition against the Message which Lord Melbourne read in my name the day before, pressing my increase of income for my Mother. Lord Duncannon told me that Lord Brougham had lately taken to making cutting attacks against my Ministers, and that he had most unhandsonely attacked my excellent Lord Melbourne, called him "a Courtier," &c., &c., which, no wonder, roused Lord Melbourne's temper, and that he returned it Lord Brougham most admirably. He always speaks well, but particularly well this time, Lord Duncannon said. I turned to Lord Melbourne and said I had heard he had spoken so well, "as you always do," I added. But he is so modest and backward about his own extraordinary merits. He said to me, there might be a like difficulty in the H. of Commons upon this Message. Spoke to me about many other things and about boys at school, and told me a very amusing anecdote about himself. He and Lady Mulgrave were saying how imprudent it was to tell children things which they might not repeat. So he said: "When I was a boy of ten, and came home, my Mother was asking me about the boys at school, and I mentioned who were there, and amongst others the present Lord Boston.¹ My Mother said 'Oh! every Irby is a fool,' which is very true; so, when I went back to school, I told this, and said, 'My Mother says every Irby is a fool.' This was repeated, and written back to Lord Boston,² and created most dreadful offence." We then spoke about Magnetism, which every body is mad about now; and I said it was very disagreeable to be magnetised, as people got to say such odd things in this *magnetic* state. "Why," said Lord Melbourne, "people say odd enough things without being magnetised." . . .

Friday, 22nd December.— . . . Lord Melbourne spoke to me a good deal about the Privy Purse, about its expenses, the Pensions on it, &c., &c. About the Household Expenditure; about many other things concerning

¹ George, third Lord Boston (1777-1869).

² Frederick, second Lord Boston (1749-1825).

expenditure; about the late Kings, George 4th and William 4th's fancies, &c., &c. His ideas about all these things are so reasonable and so excellent. . . . I sat between Lord Melbourne (who led me in) and Lord Palmerston. I was delighted to see Lord Melbourne in excellent spirits, and looking much better. He was very clever and very funny about education, at dinner; his ideas are excellent about it, I think. He said that he thought almost every body's character was formed by their Mother, and that if the children did not turn out well, the mothers should be punished for it. I daresay *his* noble, fine and excellent character was formed by his mother,¹ for she was a remarkably clever and sensible woman. He told me that the Civil List Bill was read a third time that evening, without any opposition. The news are, I grieve to say, very bad from Canada²; that is to say rumours and reports by the Papers, though we have no Official Reports. But Lord Melbourne hopes that it may not be so bad as it is rumoured. There certainly is open Rebellion. This makes it expedient that Parliament should meet again on the 16th January and not adjourn *till* the 1st Feb. as was at first intended. . . .

¹ Lady Melbourne was a daughter of Sir Ralph Milbanke, and William Lamb was her favourite son. When Peniston, her eldest son, died, she encouraged William to devote himself to politics and to abandon the Bar.

² The Canadian question was one of the most difficult of the early years of the Queen's reign. Upper and Lower Canada were totally dissimilar in race, tradition, and natural position. Lower Canada was peopled mainly by French Roman Catholics, Upper Canada by Scottish Protestants, and the mode of Government in both was as cumbrous and inappropriate as it could well be, and afforded unquestionable ground for grievance on the part of the inhabitants. In 1836 a rebellion broke out in the Lower Province headed by Papineau, who had been Speaker of the Assembly. This was followed by an insurrection in the Upper Province, which was quelled in a striking and almost quixotic manner by Sir Francis Head, the Governor, who, dismissing all his regular troops to the Lower Province, trusted to the people to put down the malcontents, and succeeded. Lord Durham was sent out in 1838 as High Commissioner and Governor-General. His report on the proper method of administering the Colony is historical, and ultimately formed the basis of settlement. His acts were not approved by the Whig Government and were annulled by them. He anticipated his recall by resigning and coming home before the end of 1838.

CHAPTER III

JANUARY AND FEBRUARY 1838

WINDSOR CASTLE, *Monday, 1st January*.— . . . The Duke of Sutherland told me the other night, that Lord Melbourne's mother (whom he knew) was a very agreeable, sensible, clever woman, and that Lord Melbourne was very like her as to features; Lady Melbourne was very large latterly. Lord Melbourne's father, on the contrary, the Duke said, was very far from agreeable or clever; he was a short fat man and not like any of his children. He died at the age of 80. The Duchess of Sutherland spoke to me last night about Lady Caroline Lamb,¹ Lord Melbourne's wife; she was Lord Duncannon's only sister, and the strangest person that ever lived, really half crazy, and quite so when she died; she was not good-looking, but very clever, and could be very amusing. She teased that excellent Lord Melbourne in every way, dreadfully, and quite embittered his life, which it ought to have been her pride to study to render a happy one; he was the kindest of husbands to her, and bore it most admirably; any other man would have separated from such a wife. He has now the greatest horror of any woman who is in any way eccentric or extravagant, which shows how very much he must have suffered from such a wife. The Duchess told me the strangest stories about her. . . .

¹ Lady Caroline Ponsonby, daughter of the third Earl of Bessborough, a lady of eccentric mind and habits. She was thrown off her mental and moral balance by her acquaintance with Lord Byron, not perhaps so surprising as the fact that she never recovered either even after Byron's death.

Tuesday, 2nd January.— . . . I rode a new horse, a most *delightful* creature, called Tartar; he is taller than Barbara, excessively pretty, and of a very dark brown colour; he has a very springy charming canter and action, is full of spirit, and yet as quiet as a lamb, never shies and is the best-tempered creature possible; to crown all these valuable qualities, Tartar is exceedingly sure-footed. It was a delightful ride and we cantered a great deal coming home; the roads were so dirty that my habit was quite heavy with mud. . . .

Thursday, 4th January.— . . . At $\frac{1}{2}$ p. 5 came Lord Melbourne, whom I was quite delighted to see again after such a long absence, the longest that has taken place since I came to the Throne. I thought him in very good spirits, and looking well, though pale, and as kind, amiable and mild as ever; never do I find any difference in this excellent man, may he be very tired, or not tired, he is always equally kind and gentle, though he may at times be low. I was agreeably surprised to find him in good spirits, for from his letters and all the troubles and difficulties he has had of late, I feared it might not be so. He spoke to me first a good deal about Canada; said they were all agreed as to what was to be done, namely to repeal a Statute (*which*, I cannot say), and *for* the present, govern as Canada had been governed before; but that Lord Howick was of a different opinion and thought that these strong measures ought to be accompanied by conciliatory measures, which Lord Melbourne said would not answer the purpose and have a bad effect; Lord Howick, he said, was excessively eager about this, for various reasons which Lord Melbourne explained to me; "if Lord Howick was to resign," he added, "I do not think that would affect the Government; it would be a bad thing for there is a good deal of strength in him." The other question, about the Army, he considered a more difficult one; the five Ministers who signed the Report relative to the changes meditated in the office of the Secretary of War, are, Lord John Russell, Lord Howick, Lord Palmerston, Sir

J. Hobhouse, and Mr. Spring Rice. Lord Howick and Lord John, he said, are the only two who are eager about it; the others he believed signed it reluctantly, particularly Mr. Rice. He spoke a good deal about this difficult question; there is, in my opinion, a good deal for and a good deal against it. It is, as Lord Melbourne says, creating a new Minister with new powers, by giving the Secretary at War great power over the Army. There have been, as Lord Melbourne says, great abuses which it would be desirable to remedy. Spoke about the Troops to be sent to Canada; about Mr. Rice's wish to take the Chair; about *his* reasons for doing so; how to replace *him*; about the present Speaker; about the quarrel in Belgium relative to the cutting of timber in the Grönwald; about the King of Hanover's foolish proceedings; how they are viewed in Germany; about some despatches from Sir Frederick Lamb,¹ saying that Metternich was much displeased at the expulsion of the Archbishop of Cologne, at the manner of doing it, and at the impolicy of the act. Lord Melbourne said he had dined once or twice at Lord Holland's,² since I had seen him. I was quite happy to talk to him again, as there were many subjects on which I wanted explanation and he explains *so* well and so clearly and agreeably. . . . My good Lord Melbourne led me in and I sat between him and Lord Torrington. He (Ld. M.) spoke to me about many things; about riding and horses; about *bad ears* for Music; said that everybody would suppose from Scott's writings that he was very fond of and understood music very well; whereas

¹ Lord Melbourne's brother, afterwards Lord Beauvale, Ambassador Extraordinary at Vienna. As a diplomatist he was irreproachable, handsome, agreeable, and adroit. In private life he was not altogether *sans reproche*. Without his brother William's literary acquirements, and with less sarcasm and pungent wit, he yet had a vigorous understanding, much information, and no little capacity for affairs. At sixty years of age, and in broken health, he married a very young lady, the daughter of Count Maltzahn, the Prussian Minister at Vienna.

² Henry Richard, third Lord Holland of the 1762 creation, was Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. Under the auspices of his wife, Holland House, Kensington, was for many years the Zoar of weary Whig politicians.

Lord Melbourne said, *he* said: "In music I don't know *high* from *low*!" . . .

Tuesday, 9th January.—Spoke about this Army business, upon which Lord Melbourne will see Lord Howick. He said, "It would be madness to propose at this moment a complete change in the Administration of the Army, when we have got all these affairs of Canada." He spoke of this a good deal; and seemed to hope Lord Howick would give it up: he said the others would be ready to do so if he did. . . . Though I think Lord Duncannon agreeable and amusing, I cannot find in him or in any of the other Ministers, that Kindness, mildness, and open frankness, and *agreeability* (to use a word of Lady Mary Stopford's) which I find in my kind friend Lord Melbourne; *he alone* inspires me with that feeling of great confidence and I may say *security*, for I feel *so safe* when he speaks to me and is with me; what he says is all so kind and good, and he never says anything which could alarm or hurt me. But I should not *wish* to be on the same confidential footing with any of my other Ministers as I am with this truly excellent friend.

Wednesday, 10th January.— . . . Lord Melbourne said that he had seen Lord Durham who seemed very much inclined to accept the Proposition of going to Canada; he (Ld. D.) was not quite satisfied with all the plans proposed by Government, and particularly with a Council of 17, which he said was too many; that he could not manage more than 4 or 5. Lord Durham requires, Lord Melbourne added, a large outfit, as he would not spend any of his private fortune; and he would not go till the Navigation was open. Lord Melbourne then told me that he had seen Lord Howick who seemed "disposed to reconsider" the question of the army, and said he would not press parts of it, and would give way on some points. This is a great satisfaction and I think Lord Melbourne seemed quite happy about it. . . .

Wednesday, 17th January.— . . . I sat between Lord Melbourne and Lord Glenelg. Lord Melbourne said

he was, and I was happy to see he *looked*, better. He said, as he led me in, that the Majority in the House of Commons of the night before was very favourable. He spoke to me about Greece; said he had heard from his brother that they were very uneasy at Vienna about the state of Greece; said that the only person who showed any sense or character there was the Queen of Greece,¹ but that she was very young and was placed in a rather rougher situation than suited her; that the Archduke John² had told Sir Frederic (on his return from Greece) "that she was like a Brazillian Paraquite in a wood of firs covered with snow," meaning that she was in a position not suited to her; I said to Lord Melbourne that I had heard in the Summer that there were hopes of there being an *heir* in some time; he said, "I am afraid not." He told me that the Archduke John had likewise told his brother that the Emperor of Russia³ was beginning to sink under the immense weight and fatigue of governing such an empire as Russia; we spoke about him some time; and also a good deal about the Austrian Royal Family; Lord Melbourne told me that the Emperor of Austria⁴ was worse, and hardly able to do anything; but, that as his *mental faculties decreased*, his *bodily strength increased*. Spoke about Shakespear's plays; *Hamlet*, *Macbeth*, *Lear*, &c., &c.; he thinks the 2 first named the finest; he said: "I think the German critics understand Shakespear better than we do here"; mentioned Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister*, and Schlegel's book upon Shakespear, which he thinks very good; he knew, or at least saw, Schlegel here; he knew Mme. de Staël; spoke of her, of her daughter, the Duchess de Broglie; spoke of actresses; of their marrying out of their sphere; of its often not

¹ Amelia, daughter of the Grand Duke of Oldenbourg, married to Otho I., King of Greece.

² Uncle of the Emperor.

³ Nicholas I., reigned 1826-55.

⁴ Ferdinand I., born in 1793, succeeded his father, Francis I., in 1835. He was brother to Napoleon's second wife, Marie Louise.

answering; of Lady Harrington,¹ Lady Craven² (the Dowager), Lady Derby (the late),³ Mrs. Butler; of marriages in *general*, and most cleverly and sensibly; of their often being broken off—the reasons why. Lord Melbourne said, "Why, you see, a gentleman hardly knows a girl till he has proposed, and then when he has an unrestrained intercourse with her he sees something and says, 'This I don't quite like.'" . . .

Friday, 19th January.—Lord Melbourne came and stayed with me till 3. He said that they had got through this Canada business very well; that Lord Brougham made a good though very violent speech; that the Duke of Wellington's was very fair; in fact very friendly; that he (Lord Melbourne) thought the only difficult part to defend was the not having sent more troops; "but," he added, "there the Duke of Wellington came to our assistance, and said there were not too few troops." Spoke about Canada for some time. . . . In speaking of the Duke of Wellington he said: "He has no oratorical powers; he attempts no ornament, but speaks generally very much to the point; he cannot always express what he feels and understands." He added that people sometimes who were great in action could not express well in words what they meant and conceived; spoke of all the Duke's family, and said he thought the Duke was the cleverest; asked me if I had ever read the Duke's Despatches, and said they were worth looking at, to see the way he did them. . . . Lord Melbourne told me, in speaking of the Duke of Wellington, "His people are very angry with him; they think he is leaving them." How wrong of these people! I told Lord Melbourne what my Uncle Leopold had written to me about him (Ld. M.), which seemed to please him. Talked of other things. Talked

¹ Charles, first Earl of Harrington, married Maria, daughter of Samuel Foote the actor.

² William, first Earl of Craven, married Louisa, an undistinguished actress, daughter of John Brunton of Norwich.

³ Edward, twelfth Earl of Derby, married Elizabeth Farren, a Haymarket actress of considerable beauty and charm.

for some time with him and Lord Palmerston, about education, punishments, &c., Lord Melbourne was amazingly funny and amusing about this. I said I thought solitary confinement a good punishment: Lord Melbourne replied, "I think its a very stupefying punishment." I mentioned the system of *silence* as a very good one and quoted myself as a proof of its having answered, which made them laugh very much. Lord Melbourne said, "It may do very well with a lively child; but with one of a sulky, *grumpy* disposition it would not answer." . . . I said I thought it cruel to punish children by depriving them of their meals and saying they should go without their supper, &c. Lord Melbourne replied, "Why, when I was a child, they had contrived to annoy me so, and had made me cry so much, that I had lost all appetite."

Saturday, 20th January.— . . . At $\frac{1}{2}$ p. 12 Lord Glenelg presented Lord Durham to me on his appointment; Lord Glenelg then left the room and Lord Durham remained with me for about $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour, I should say. He spoke entirely about Canada, which subject he seems to understand thoroughly; said he considered the task he was about to undertake a most difficult one; and he *might* not succeed; but that he would do his utmost to restore tranquillity in Canada; said he wished to have my authority, when the rebellion was quelled, to conciliate these deluded people and to hold out mercy to them. He spoke at much length about all this,—about what he intended to do,—the difficulty of the task, &c., &c. At $\frac{1}{2}$ p. 1 came Lord Melbourne and stayed with me till 20 m. p. 2. He seemed well. He said, "I am sorry to say I received a letter from Lord Howick this morning and that he makes a great demur about this Army affair." Lord Melbourne then added that as it was such a difficult question and as it could be done "as it were by one blow," and as the Army disliked it so much and altogether it was such a bad time for it, and he thought it such a difficult question, that he could not give way to him upon it, and could

not advise me to do it; he added he would not mind it near so much if it were brought before Parliament and there fully discussed, for then if it passed, it would be done by the authority of Parliament; but in this way, it was so entirely to be done by me, as it were, that he really could not agree to it; moreover that if even it were a very good thing in itself (which he does not think it), this would not be the moment for doing it; none of the other Ministers he thought were eager for it; but if it were proposed in the Cabinet and carried by a majority against Lord Howick, he (Ld. H.) might resign (which Lord M. says would be a bad thing, but would not affect the Government), and Lord Melbourne did not know what Lord John Russell might *then* do, if Lord Howick held out on it; which would then affect the Government. I told Lord Melbourne that if it could be of any use, he might say that *I quite* agreed with him (Lord Melbourne) and that he might rely upon me; which assurance pleased him, though I think he must long be aware of my firm resolution to support this kind and true friend of mine, as he truly and really is in every way. . . .

Sunday, 21st January.— . . . After dinner before we sat down, I talked to Lord Melbourne about some important things; I asked him the cause of the differences in the Cabinet; he said that he wished, and also most of the others, that the Legislative Council in Canada should be chosen from those which composed the present Legislative Assembly,—whereas Lord Howick and some others wished the Council should be chosen from the Country at large, and not from the Assembly; Lord Melbourne was against this and for this reason; we should probably lose by such an Election many of the *English* party, now in the Legislative Assembly, and get a good many of the *French* party who would be hostile to us; and consequently diminish our influence; none of the other Ministers were as obstinately for this as Lord Howick—but he at length gave way. . . . He was very funny about a

word which Lady Mary gave me to find out; she gave me the ivory letters and I was to find out the word; she gave me "thermometer," and she spelt it with an "a" instead of an "e," and laughed very much at her bad spelling; upon which Lord Melbourne said, "It is a very good way to spell it, but not *the* way," which made us laugh. I said to him I was reading the first novel I had ever read—*The Bride of Lammermoor*; he said it was a very melancholy—a terrible story—but admires it; he mentioned *Old Mortality*, *Quentin Durward*, *The Fair Maid of Perth*, and *Kenilworth*, as Scott's best novels; he said there was "a great deal of good" and "a great deal of bad" in his novels; said he admired his poems very much, though most people said his novels were greatly superior in their way to his poems; spoke of Richard Cœur de Lion whom we both rather admire; of Henry IV. and Sully; Lord Melbourne said that Sully was a clever and good man, and greatly superior to those Ministers who followed him; Richelieu and Mazarin: "They were shocking fellows," he added. . . .

Tuesday, 23rd January.— . . He spoke of what had just taken place in Canada; said Sir John Colborne¹ was an excellent officer. "A good officer," he added, "can generally effect with a small force, what a bad officer with a large force would fail in." Spoke about this question of the Army. Said that Lord Francis Egerton² had said in the House, "That the troops had done remarkably well and that he hoped nothing would

¹ Afterwards Field-Marshal and first Lord Seaton. He was one of Wellington's generals in the Peninsula and at Waterloo. He was Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada, and on Lord Durham's recall was nominated to succeed him.

² Lord Francis Egerton was the second son of George Granville, first Duke of Sutherland. The immense fortune of Francis, third and last Duke of Bridgewater (the father of English inland navigation and, in conjunction with Brindley, constructor of the canal which bears his name) was devised to the first Duke of Sutherland for life, and thereafter to Lord Francis, who on attaining possession assumed the surname of Egerton, in lieu of Leveson-Gower. A "condition subsequent" tending to divest the property in a certain event was decided to be opposed to "public policy." Lord Francis was created Earl of Ellesmere in 1846.

be done to tamper with the management of the Army," evidently alluding, Lord Melbourne observed, to the intended changes in the Army. I told Lord Melbourne that Lord Adolphus Fitzclarence, on being told that I would continue to him and his brothers and sisters the same annual allowance they enjoyed from the late King, burst into tears, and said it was unexpected, for they did not dare to hope for anything. . . .

Wednesday, 24th January.— . . . Lady Falkland,¹ whom I had not yet seen, was of course presented to me by Lady Portman.² I (as usual to all Peeresses and Ladies by courtesy) wished to kiss her, but she insisted on kissing my hand first and then only received her kiss from me. . . . I observed to Lord Melbourne that it must be a great trial for poor Lady Falkland dining here. . . . Lady Falkland must have felt very low, and it must have been a sad trial for her to see me for the 1st time in the place of her poor father, but she behaved uncommonly well; she is a very nice person. She looked pale and thin, but still very pretty. I sat on the sofa with her; Lord Melbourne sitting near me the whole evening; and all the other ladies sitting round the table. Spoke with Lord Melbourne about Lady Falkland &c. Asked him what he thought was the best History of the last 60 or 70 years. He said there was no History of that time *only*, but that it must be got from different books; that the *Annual Register* was as good a book as any, if I wanted to look for any particular event in any one year. That the beginning was written by Burke and followed up by Dr. Laurence &c. Said that being written at the time, it was tinctured with party spirit. He said Adolphus's *History of George III.* was curious as he had got a good deal of information, and that the anecdotes told in it were true,

¹ Lady Falkland. Amelia Fitzclarence, daughter of William IV., and sister of Lord Adolphus Fitzclarence, here mentioned.

² Edward Berkeley Portman, representative of an old Dorsetshire and Somersetshire family, was created Baron Portman in 1837. In 1827 he married Emma, third daughter of the Earl of Harewood, who was at this time one of the Ladies of the Bedchamber to Queen Victoria.

though the *names* of the people were sometimes wrong. Said that Hume's *History of England* was undoubtedly the best, in spite of his party prejudices, and that he thought I would like it much better now than when I read it before. Spoke of Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion* (which I told him I had read), which he thought curious, but likes his (Clarendon's) *Memoirs* better.

Thursday, 25th January.— . . . Lord Melbourne came and stayed with me till $\frac{1}{2}$ p. 4. He said, "I think we have patched this up," meaning the affair about the bill relating to Canada. "We mean to stand by the bill," he added, "and take our chance of a division." Lord John, he said, was very much for leaving the Preamble out, and was not at all pleased at being obliged to stand by it; and Lord Melbourne said it was a bad thing "to force a man to do what he dislikes when he has a principal part to act in it," which is very true. He added something more about Canada and what was meant to be done, if they were beat about this clause. He said that Lord Howick's great violence irritated the others on the other side (in the Cabinet); Mr. Thomson was very eager against Lord Howick's ideas about Canada. I asked him if Mr. Poulett Thomson was eager; he replied that he was, but that he could control himself, which Lord Howick could not, and was excessively cross, and kept saying he would resign and would not be party to this and that, which offended the others. . . . Spoke of Sir Robert Peel, who I observed I thought was more eager than the Duke of Wellington. Lord Melbourne replied he was not acquainted with Sir Robert Peel's character, could not judge of his feelings, did "not know if he was desirous of office or not." Said he believed that his (the Duke's) party were very angry with him for what he had said in the House of Lords, and therefore that Sir Robert was obliged to be more violent in order to keep his party together. "This I believe to be the truth," Lord Melbourne observed. . . .

Friday, 26th January.— . . . He told me that they had settled the matter about Canada. "We have settled to

leave out the Preamble; Lord Howick has given way, and owned he was in the wrong." He added: "It will be a triumph to the other party, but I don't much mind that." I said that I was surprised Lord Howick had given way. Lord Melbourne replied: "He is not devoid of candour," but that his opinions were so very strong that he did not feel able to "surrender them." Said that Sir Robert Peel had justly observed that: "what was the necessity of asking Parliament about what they *were going to do*"; "we don't mean to oppose you; we won't fetter you." "Why therefore ask our approbation of what you are going to do?" "Act like any other Ministers and then afterwards we will approve or disapprove what has been done."¹ "Now," Lord Melbourne said, "this is almost unanswerable." He is the fairest person about his opponents I ever knew; so frank, so noble! so candid! . . . Spoke of the Combinations of the workmen in Scotland and Ireland and England, which he says are quite frightful. This led him to speak of servants, of their combinations with tradespeople, their being bribed, &c. He observed how disagreeable it was to recommend tradespeople or servants; he said that his coachmaker had come to him this morning and begged him to write a letter to the Bishop of Ely to recommend him to him. "Very well," said Lord Melbourne, "I will write a letter if you wish which I will show you." "So I wrote to the Bishop of Ely," continued Lord Melbourne; "'My dear Lord,—Mr. Robson has been my coachmaker for many years, and I believe him to be a very good one, but so he ought, for I must say he is a very dear one.' 'Now,' I said to the man, 'here is the letter, you may read it if you like.'". . . At 7 I went to Drury Lane with the Duchess of Sutherland, Lady Portman, Miss Cavendish, Lady Mary Stopford, Lord Conyngham, Lord Headfort, and Col. Buckley (who this

¹ This high Constitutional doctrine was certain to meet with the approval of a Whig like Lord Melbourne. It has been the secret of ministerial responsibility and of executive power in the Constitution of this country, and its working has been admired by many foreign observers.

day replaced Col. Grey). It was Shakespear's tragedy of *Hamlet*, and we came in at the beginning of it. Mr. Charles Kean (son of old Kean) acted the part of Hamlet and I must say beautifully. His conception of this very difficult and I may almost say incomprehensible character, is admirable; his delivery of all the fine long speeches quite beautiful; he is excessively graceful and all his actions and attitudes are good, though not at all good-looking in face; the two finest scenes I thought were the *Play-scene*, which he acts, they say, quite differently to any other actor who has performed Hamlet; and the scene with his mother, the Queen; it was quite beautiful when he rushed out after having killed Polonius, exclaiming, "Is it the King?" He fights uncommonly well too. All the other characters were very badly acted. I came away just as *Hamlet* was over. They would recognise me between the 2nd and 3rd acts,—I was compelled to come forward, curtsey, and hear "God save the Queen" sung. The house was amazingly crowded and they received me admirably. Came home at $\frac{1}{2}$ p. 10.

Saturday, 27th January.— . . . Told Lord M. I had been much pleased with *Hamlet* last night; observed it was a very hard play to understand, which he agreed in; he said he thought the end of it "awkward" and horrid; said he thought Hamlet was supposed to be mad, of a philosophical mind, and urged to do something which he did not like to do. He added that Mr. Fox always said that *Hamlet* possessed more of Shakespear's faults than almost any other play of Shakespear, &c., &c. . . . Lord Melbourne said that *Richard III.* by Shakespear was a very fine play; I observed that Richard was a very bad man; Lord Melbourne also thinks he was a horrid man; he believes him to have been deformed (which some people deny), and thinks "there is no doubt that he murdered those two young Princes." I was delighted to hear Lord Melbourne say he thought Henry 7th a very bad man, and reckless of blood; spoke of the inhuman *murder*, I may call it, of the young Earl o

Warwick; he said that Ferdinand of Spain would not give his daughter Catherine to *Arthur* unless this poor Warwick was got rid of; that Catherine felt this all along and observed that it dwelt upon her and "that it did not go well with her in the world" for this reason. He spoke of Henry VIII.; said he was not so bad at first and had begun with good intentions; spoke of Catherine of Arragon, &c., &c.; that when Henry VIII. took a liking to somebody else, he only sought to get rid of the other in the quickest way. Spoke of the wars in Flanders. . . . He fell asleep for a little while in the evening, which is always a proof that he is not quite well. . . .

Tuesday, 30th January.— . . . I asked Lord M. what Lord Palmerston's Politics were at the time when he stood against Lord Lansdowne and Lord Althorp. Lord Melbourne said that Lord Palmerston then belonged to the *high Tory* Party! Spoke of the change of opinions &c., &c. Spoke of the salaries &c. of my people, and spoke of Names, Christian names, for a long while; said that Lady Vivian's¹ little girl was called *Lalage*, from Horace; he thought the name rather pretty on account of the lines which he repeated and which are, I *think*, "Dulce ridentem, Lalagen amabo, Dulce loquentem." Told him of the intention there once was of changing my name, which he was surprised at, and could not think how it could have been done.

Saturday, 3rd February.—Received a communication from Lord Melbourne which I shall transcribe: "Lord Melbourne presents his humble duty to Your Majesty and acquaints Y.M. that the Canada Government Bill was read a second time in the House of Lords, with the single dissentient voice of Lord Brougham. Lord Melbourne sends the returns of the attendance and the speeches. Lord Brougham made a long and able speech, not over-violent for him. The Duke of Wellington made

¹ Letitia, wife of Sir Hussey (afterwards Lord) Vivian. The child Lalage married, in 1857, Henry Hyde Nugent Bankes, son of the Right Hon. George Bankes.

a moderate speech and concluded with some very able views" (I think) "of the subject. Lord Aberdeen and Lord Wharncliffe also spoke, both strongly condemning the conduct of Government." This note was dated from last night. Heard also from Lord John Russell that they had proceeded in the House of Commons with the Irish Corporation Bill and the Pluralities Bill. . . . Lord M. said they sat till near 12 o'clock last night. Said "it was a very good Debate." "The Duke of Wellington," he added, "again made a very fair speech"; and that the Duke's remarks were very good about Canada, for that there was a great deal to say about it; and that the Duke observed, "that each Mail brought the account of some new and very important event." He (Ld. Melbourne) said that Lord Aberdeen and Lord Wharncliffe "were very severe." I asked him if Lord Aberdeen was not rather a dull and heavy speaker; he replied in the affirmative; and said (in reply to my question as to whether he were a good speaker) that Lord Wharncliffe was a good speaker and spoke "very clearly." I asked him about Lord Brougham's speech which he said "was more bitter than violent; very bitter, but a fine speech." Lord Melbourne told me: "We have not yet settled this Army Question; but I am more and more convinced it would be madness to propose it; and after this affair of Canada too. He seemed, however, I thought, sanguine about its being ultimately settled.

Sunday, 4th February.—Lord Melbourne asked if I had seen *King Lear* (which I had half intended to do last week); I said I had not. He said (alluding to the manner in which it is being performed at Covent Garden), "It is *King Lear* as Shakespear wrote it; and which has not been performed so, since the time of Queen Anne." As it is generally acted, Lord Melbourne told me, it is altered by Cibber, who "put in a deal of stuff" of his own; that it was a much finer play as Shakespear wrote it, but "most dreadfully tragic." That Dr. Johnson had seen it performed in that way, and that "it made such

an impression on him that he never forgot it." I observed to him that I feared that, and did not like all that madness on the stage. Lord Melbourne said, "I can't bear that, but still it is a very fine play, and many think Shakespear's best." Spoke of the play of *Richard III.*, which I said I was going to see. Lord Melbourne said it was "a fine striking play." He observed that that scene where Richard makes love to Anne, at the funeral of Henry VI., did not belong to the play, but was taken from *Henry VI.*; he said, "That is a very foolish scene; I always thought it a most ridiculous scene; and there is not the slightest foundation in History for it; he married her 8 years afterwards." He added that Shakespear constantly mixed up events, in his Historical plays, without minding when they happened, and how far asunder.

Monday, 5th February.—Lord M. showed me a letter he had got this morning, from Lord Ebrington,¹ saying that Lord Tavistock (who, Lord Melbourne tells me, has great influence over Lord John, and was sent for) had prevailed on Lord John to put off the Army Question till June or July; so that Lord Melbourne says they will get over it this Session; and when a thing is put off, he added, it is often forgotten or the moment not found suitable for it. "But," continued Lord Melbourne, "when one gets over one difficulty, there always comes another; and there is now another question of great difficulty, which is the Ballot." He then explained to me, that not only several of their supporters but even some of the Government had pledged themselves to the Ballot, and consequently after Lord John made that very decided declaration against the Ballot, these people said they must go against this; amongst others Sir Hussey Vivian who has pledged himself to it; and Lord Melbourne says if they should vote for it after Lord John's declaration, either they or perhaps Lord John will resign, and this "would make such gaps in the Government as would make it very difficult to fill up; and Sir Hussey

¹ Afterwards 2nd Earl Fortescue. Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland 1839-41.

Vivian has written to Lord John this morning, and he to me, saying I shall have to choose whether I will accept Sir Hussey's or his resignation." Lord Melbourne however said he would see if he could manage it, which I fervently hope and trust he will; but he is sadly teased and plagued. He said, "There is a succession of difficulties in a Government." . . . At 20 m. to 7 I went with Lady Portman, Lady Tavistock, Miss Cavendish, Miss Pitt, Lord Conyngham, Lord Headfort, and Col. Buckley to Drury Lane theatre. We came in before the performance had commenced. It was Shakespear's tragedy of *Richard III.*, and Charles Kean's first appearance (in London) as Richard. The house was crammed to the ceiling; and the applause was tremendous when Kean came on; he was unable to make himself heard for at least five minutes I should say. He was dressed exactly like his father, and all those who were with me, and who had seen his father, were struck with the great resemblance to his father both in appearance and voice. It would be impossible for me to attempt to describe the *admirable* manner in which Kean delineated the ferocious and fiend-like Richard. It was quite a *triumph* and the latter part particularly so; he was applauded throughout in the most enthusiastic manner.

Tuesday, 6th February.—At 17 m. p. 2 my kind friend Lord Melbourne came and said he was better, and stayed with me till 20 m. p. 3. He spoke to me about Mr. Roebuck's¹ speech of last night; said "it was a very bitter speech." I told him what Lord John had written to me of what took place in the House of Commons last night. He spoke to me about this Parliamentary Elections Bill; said it would he thought not pass the House of Lords. Gave me an explanation about it, and about people's being unable to vote unless they had paid

¹ Mr. (afterwards Rt. Hon.) John Arthur Roebuck. A Liberal "free lance," who earned the *sobriquet* of "Tear-'em." Lord John Russell had brought in a Bill for suspending the Constitution of Canada, and Mr. Roebuck, who was not at the time in Parliament, claimed to be heard at the bar of both Houses as agent for the Lower Province. He made a very able but bitter speech.

the rates up to the very day; and that many people wanted to get rid of this; but the Lords did not like that as they thought it was "meddling with the Reform Bill." I asked him if he had done anything more about the Ballot. He replied that he had heard from Lord John this morning, who said they had best wait the decision; he added that Lord John thinks he must resign if any of the others vote for the Ballot, as after his very strong declaration against it, he would consider their voting for it as "passing a censure upon him"; Lord Melbourne said he did not quite think that, and that he thought Lord John took it rather too seriously; but he added: "Lord John does." Lord Melbourne said he thinks it better not to take much notice of who vote for or against it; and he added "we took no notice of it when Lord Charles Fitzroy voted for it (Ballot) last year; he is a very foolish man, I think." I said to him that I believed the *Cabinet* were all agreed upon this question; he replied they were; "that is to say either to vote against its being made an open question, or not to vote at all." He added that Sir John Hobhouse and Mr. Poulett Thomson did not vote at all, having he believed pledged themselves before they came into the Ministry. . . .

Spoke of the Duke of Wellington; he said "The Duke of Wellington is amazingly sensible to attention; nothing pleases him so much as if one asks him his opinion about anything." He added that many people were offended with the Duke's abrupt manner of speaking; I observed that I thought that was only a manner, and that he did not mean it so. "No more do I," replied Lord Melbourne. Spoke of Lord Ebrington, who Lord Melbourne has known a long while and says is a clever man and possesses a considerable influence over Lord John; Lord Tavistock also he added, has influence over his brother John; "but," said Lord Melbourne, "Lord Tavistock has also got some strange notions; he lives a great deal in the country; and people who live a great deal in the country pick up strange ideas." I asked him if he thought there would be much opposition to the

Irish Poor Laws in the House of Lords. "I think there will be none," he said. "I don't think there will be any difficulty about any of the *Questions*—it's only this Ballot." I asked him if he had seen Lord John about it. He replied that others had, but that "I don't like to speak to him about it; I feel rather awkward about speaking to him about it, as last year he wanted me to make it an open question and I refused; and now that I want him to relax he would say, 'Why, what have you to say?'" He said Lord John was "very unbendable" about it. Lord Melbourne wanted him not to be so very particular about it, and let them vote for or against it (its being an open question) and not take much notice of it; but Lord John said that after *his* declaration *that* would *affect him*. I asked who were the others who wanted to vote for it. "Why, Sir Hussey Vivian is the one of the greatest consequence, and Parnell,"¹ he replied. "The fact is, Vivian should not have pledged himself; he carried his election in a way he should not have done."

Wednesday, 7th February.—Lord Melbourne said he had just been to see Lord Durham "who wants more force." He (Ld. D.) said that the Duke of Wellington had told him he ought to have 75,000 men in Canada, to put it down. Lord Melbourne further told me that the Duke of Wellington had been to see Lord Durham on Friday, he thinks; stayed with him for an hour and a half; had gone with him through the whole thing, had told him how to manage the troops by sending them from one place to another, and told him all his ideas of doing the thing. Lord Melbourne seemed quite pleased about it.² I showed Lord Melbourne a letter I had got from Stockmar, about which Lord Melbourne said he

¹ Henry Brooke Parnell had been member for Maryborough in the Irish House of Commons, and was now member for Dundee. He was made Paymaster-General on that office being constituted in 1838. Afterwards created Lord Congleton.

² The Duke never allowed political feeling to interfere with what he considered public duty. As a politician he was a Tory; but as a soldier he had no politics.

would write to Stockmar. Spoke about my asking Sir Robert Peel &c. to dinner, which led us to speak about Lady Ashley, who, Lord Melbourne says, is decided in her politics, though not violent; she is a Tory; Lord Melbourne says she does not talk about it much; but he thinks she has at one time discussed it with her mother, who of course is a Whig; I said I supposed Lady Fanny had no ideas of her own about Politics; he replied, "Why I think she is a Tory." I was surprised; said laughing I thought it very wrong, and very odd, as all her brothers were Whigs. Spoke to him at dinner about various things; he told me Mr. Roebuck is a small man with "small finely cut features," and that he speaks well—"plainly, without ornament."

Thursday, 8th February.—He said he thought there would be some debate in the H. of Lords about the third reading of the Canada bill tonight; he thinks Lord Ellenborough¹ will speak. I asked him if he (Ld. E.) was a clever man; he replied, "He is a disagreeable, conceited man, but a clever man." . . . Lord Melbourne told me today that when he was as young as Lord Canning is now, he "was very shy"; "I think I was about as shy as anybody could be," he said.

Friday, 9th February.—I asked Lord Melbourne the other day how many Peers could constitute a House of Lords and be considered able to sit; he said *three*; and in the House of Commons 40 Members must be present to make a House of Commons. I likewise asked him if there was any particular form when a Peer takes his seat; he said *on his creation* there was a great deal of form; but on taking it in a new Parliament or upon succeeding to the Title there was hardly any. "You go up to the table," he added, "take the oaths, pay the

¹ Lord Ellenborough (1790-1871) was a son of the Chief Justice, and sat in several Conservative Cabinets. He was Governor-General of India in 1844, and recalled from his post by the directors of the East India Company in opposition to the wish of the Cabinet, who at once recommended him for an earldom. He was too imaginative and daring for the post of Governor-General at this period of Indian administrative history; but his memory was often revived in the person of a more daring and more brilliant successor in that high office.

fees, and shake hands with the Chancellor." Lord Melbourne also told me that any Peer may bring in any bill and lay it upon the table, and it is generally read a first time; whereas "in the H. of Commons, they must always move for leave to bring in a bill." He said that Lord Ashburton had got that "fashionable theory" that it was better to give up the Colonies at once when they became at all unquiet; which Lord Melbourne observed with great justice, would be just the way to encourage them to revolt; for they would then say, "Why, we have nothing to do but to revolt to get rid of our masters." And "a very dangerous thing to declare," Lord Melbourne observed. Spoke a long time about all this; then about George IV., who he said was not at all unhappy at Princess Charlotte's death, on the contrary, he was rather glad; spoke of her—of Uncle Leopold—her happiness with him—her death—that she might have been saved if she had not been so much weakened.

He spoke of the Duke of Wellington, and, with tears in his eyes at the Duke's friendliness to Lord Durham, about Canada. I asked him if it would do well if I asked Lord and Lady Francis Egerton¹ the same day as the Duke of Wellington dined here; he replied extremely well, and that it would "be very agreeable to both." I told him that I was very thankful to him when he told me *who* I should invite; he said, "I am afraid I don't attend enough to that; I am rather neglectful about it," which I would not allow. Spoke about the Emperor of Austria—the Duchess of Sutherland—her family; Lord Melbourne said she was naturally very proud; spoke about her house²; the lease of which she wishes to buy, but which as it is Crown property Lord Melbourne said she could not do; he dreaded the

¹ Lady Francis was Harriet, eldest daughter of Charles Greville, the father of the diarist.

² Stafford House was built by the Duke of York. It is Crown property vested in the Commission of Woods and Forests. It is now, as Lancaster House, the home of the London Museum moved hither from Kensington Palace.

time when the Duchess should learn she could not do so; that he was afraid of writing to her before she received the formal answer from the Treasury; I told him, however, it would be better if he did so, upon which he said: "Then it shall be done." Spoke of Lady Ashley—Lady Hardwicke¹—Lady Fanny; I asked him how she came to be a Tory—and who could have made her so. He said, "Why, I think her Nurse; people generally get their ideas in that way." He told me he went to Eton when he was nine years old; he went there at Xmas in the year 1788, and stayed there till Midsummer 1796. Lord Holland left Eton about 3 months after Lord Melbourne went there. He spoke most cleverly and sensibly about Public Schools; said "I am not at all bigotted about a Public School"; said he was very happy at Eton; spoke of the many disadvantages and dangers of a Public School; amongst which he mentioned the great habit of telling falsehoods which boys get to do with impunity in order to save themselves from punishment; and the disagreeable, bad, blackguard boys you were obliged to meet at such schools; and if a boy is weak, the liability of being led and governed by such boys; Lady Durham likewise entered into the conversation, and she and Lord Melbourne and I went on discussing the subject for some time; Lady Durham observed that it was a constant *War* between boy and master at school, which however Lord Melbourne thought the same with a Tutor; we all agreed that it was very bad that no French was taught at the Public Schools, for that boys never learnt it afterwards. Lady Durham said that Lord Durham had had a great mind that their boy should learn no Latin at all, which however Lord Melbourne said he thought was a bad thing, for that he thought a man could not get on well in the world without Latin in the present state of society.² I told Lord Melbourne that though Lehzen had often said

¹ Charles Philip, fourth Earl of Hardwicke, had married Susan, daughter of the first Lord Ravensworth.

² *Tempora mutantur.*

that she had *never* seen such a passionate and naughty child as I was, still that I had never told a falsehood, though I knew I would be punished; Lord Melbourne said: "That is a fine character"; and I added that Lehzen entrusted me with things which I knew she would not like me to tell again, and that when I was ever so naughty, I never threatened to tell, or ever did tell them. Lord Melbourne observed: "That is a fine trait." I felt quite ashamed, on hearing this praise, that I had said so much about myself. I asked him if his sister's children had not been passionate when little. "Minny and Fanny were dreadfully passionate," he said, "and now they have both very sweet tempers and are very calm." I observed to him that I was sure *he* had never been so; he answered, "dreadfully passionate, and so I am now," which I *would not* and *cannot* believe. . . .

Tuesday, 13th February.—Lord M. spoke of the apparent cruelty, when a person is dying and is suffering dreadfully, and anything to hasten the end would be mercy and relief, that *that* is not allowed, and is considered unjustifiable by law. I mentioned to Lord Melbourne a case in which it had been done; he told me an anecdote of Napoleon respecting this; when his great favourite and friend Duroc was so frightfully wounded, the lower part of his body being carried away—Napoleon came to him, and Duroc implored him to give him laudanum to alleviate his sufferings and hasten his end, but Napoleon would not do it, and said he could not sanction such a thing. Lord Melbourne observed, "If they get the habit of doing such a thing" (hastening the end) "when a person is in a hopeless state, why, they *may* do it when a person is *not* in a hopeless state."

Lord Melbourne said that the King could not *bear* Lord Glenelg; nor Lord John Russell, who, Lord Melbourne said, he always called "that young man"; he also disliked Sir John Hobhouse, and Mr. Poulett Thomson, and latterly Lord Palmerston, though in the beginning he liked him very much; Mr. S. Rice he liked pretty well;

the Lord Chancellor¹ very much, and always told Lord Melbourne that the Lord Chancellor was "a kind good man"; Lord Dunraven² thought the King liked him (Ld. D.), but Lord Melbourne said he thought the King disliked him "at bottom," though he was confidential with him. I asked Lord Melbourne if he did not see the King often? Lord Melbourne replied not often, and never at Windsor latterly; that he was always very civil to him, though not very open, and always very short. He said (that by the paper which Taylor³ wrote and gave me, and which Lord Melbourne has read) that the King had intended, in case the Ministry had resigned (which Lord Melbourne said they had declared they would, about the Irish Corporation Bill) to send a paper round to the Duke of Wellington, Sir Robert Peel and Lord Melbourne calling upon them to form a Ministry. Lord Melbourne added: "He" (the late King) "was not at all a clever man; he was a very timid man; very easily frightened; in fact he was quite in Taylor's hands; Taylor could turn him any way." This I observed was a wrong thing; Lord Melbourne said certainly it was, "but considering the King's character, and how difficult it was for him to take a resolution, one cannot say it was an unfortunate thing." I observed that Taylor turned the King to the Tory side; Lord Melbourne said: "The Tories don't at all consider Taylor a friend." I spoke of the unfortunate day in August '36, when the King came to Windsor (after having prorogued Parliament) in a great passion. Lord Melbourne said this was caused by the King having set his mind upon having a Marine executed who was recommended to mercy; Lord Minto (whom the King neither liked) came to Lord Melbourne in great distress and said: "The King will have this man hanged." The King hated the Speaker, and told Lord

¹ Charles Christopher, first Lord Cottenham. On Lord Melbourne forming his second Ministry, the Great Seal was not offered to Brougham, but at first put into Commission. Pepys, Master of the Rolls, was one of the Commissioners, and became a little later Chancellor.

² William Henry, second Earl of Dunraven (1782-1850).

³ General Sir Herbert Taylor, Secretary to George III. and William IV.

Melbourne that all the time the Speaker was addressing him in the House of Lords: "Shocking voice he has."

Wednesday, 14th February.—I asked Lord Melbourne what the Duke of Wellington had told him that made him (Ld. M.) laugh so much; Lord Melbourne then told me the following anecdote of George IV., which caused the laughter. When George IV. returned from Ireland, he was very sick and suffered a good deal; and he stopped and rested at Badminton; upon this the Judge, who was sitting at the Assizes at Gloucester, imagined that he could not have a man executed when the King was in the County without asking him about it, came over to Badminton and wished the King to hear the case, which put the King into the greatest passion and he exclaimed, "What! am I to be followed all over the country with the Recorder's report?" . . . Spoke to Lord Melbourne about Lord John's child, and the anxiety of having one child only. I observed to him however that I did not think having more than one child lessened the anxiety about them; for if persons loved their children, they would be just as anxious if *one* of the many was ill, and would feel the loss of *one* as much as if he or she had but that one. Lord Melbourne said he thought quite so too; but that somehow or other "if there are many, they have seldom anything the matter with them." He added "it is not the right affection for a child, if they love them only as being their heir, or for keeping up their name." Spoke of the strange custom in Russia that on Easter Sunday every one who chooses can *kiss* the Empress saying, "Christ is risen."

Lord M. told me an anecdote of the Emperor of Russia. "He said to a sentinel, 'Christ is risen,' and the man answered, 'No, he is not'; the Emperor started and repeated, 'Christ is risen'; the man again said, 'No, he is not, for I am a Jew.' The Emperor said, 'You are quite right.'" I was quite happy to see the very amicable and friendly terms on which the Duke and my excellent friend were; it is impossible for Lord Melbourne to be otherwise almost with anybody, and the Duke having

behaved very well lately, and being likewise an open frank man, it renders it easy for them to be so. . . .

Wednesday, 21st February.—At about a $\frac{1}{4}$ p. 2 I went into the Throne room for the Levee with my Ladies &c., and all the Household and the Ministers being in the room. The only person who I was very anxious to see and whom I was much interested to have seen, was *O'Connell*, who was presented, and of course, as everybody does when they are presented, kissed hands. He was in a full wig as one of the Queen's Councillors in Ireland, and not in the brown Brutus wig he generally wears. He is very tall, rather large, has a remarkably good-humoured countenance, small features, small clever blue eyes, and very like his caricatures; there were likewise two of his sons, Morgan and John O'Connell; his son-in-law, Mr. Fitzsimon, and his nephew John Morgan O'Connell. Lord Melbourne spoke of the Committee on the Pensions which was going on; that it was a very fair Committee, and that there had only been a difficulty about one case, which was a curious one, and which is a pension given to two French ladies, Madame de Rohan and Madame de Longueville, daughters of the Duc de Biron. Lord Melbourne told me how they came to get it, which is as follows, and in telling which he became quite affected and his eyes filled with tears. When Lord Rodney went to Paris just before he obtained his great victory, he was arrested for debt, as (Lord Melbourne said) he was always without a shilling in the world; and the Duc de Biron said, "Though we are enemies, still it is too bad that a great English officer should be arrested for debt here," and he paid his debts for him. Afterwards when the Duc de Biron's daughters, Mmes. de Rohan and Longueville, who are the first nobility in France, got into distress, they sent a statement to George III. of what their father had done for Lord Rodney, and George III. gave them a pension. Spoke of O'Connell, and George IV., to whose Levee in Dublin he (O'Connell) went; Lord Melbourne said that O'Connell declared he heard George IV. distinctly say (when he passed) to some one, "God damn

him." Lord Melbourne said that George IV. was in a very awkward position when he was in Ireland, for that the whole country was in a ferment of enthusiasm believing the King to be for the Catholic Emancipation, whereas in his heart he was against it. I said to Lord Melbourne that there was rather a disagreeable business about Lord Durham's wishing me to receive Lady —— at Court, which, if she had been refused at the late Court, it would, I feared, be impossible for me to do. Lord Melbourne said, "It will not do for you to reverse a sentence passed by the late Court in the beginning of your reign; I quite agree with you that you cannot do this." He said that in general with respect to receiving people it was better to go according to what had been determined by a Court of Justice and if there was nothing against them there, to receive them and not to inquire into what their early lives had been.¹ . . .

Friday, 23rd February.—I lamented my being so short, which Lord M. smiled at and thought no misfortune. Spoke to him of the Levee, the place where I stood which some people objected to, which led him to speak of the old Court in the time of George III., when a Levee and also a Drawing-room was like an Assembly; the King and Queen used to come into the room where the people were already assembled, and to walk round and speak to the people; they did not speak to everybody, and it was considered no offence, he said, if they did not. I asked him when he first went to Court; he said in the year 1803, he thought; it was at the time when everybody volunteered their services and when he was in a Volunteer Corps. Spoke of Lord Howe, his remaining about the Queen²; and when he was made to resign.

¹ This rule was followed with invariable and prudent strictness by the Queen throughout her reign. She was never swayed in action by gossip, however subtle or ill-natured—she required proof; and this rule governed her decision in regard to disputes as to the eligibility of all persons to be invited to Court.

² Lord Howe's attitude was one of hostility to the Government. He had been Lord Chamberlain to Queen Adelaide and was believed to have encouraged her in inciting the King against the ministry of Lord Grey.

Tuesday, 27th February.—I said to Lord Melbourne that Uncle Leopold was amazingly frightened when the Prince of Orange came over with his sons, as he always imagined that the late King had *some intentions* about that; (meaning a marriage between me and one of the young Princes). "And so he had," said Lord Melbourne decidedly. "He sounded me about it," and Lord Melbourne wrote to him (the late King) to say that in a political point of view, he did not think it a desirable thing; that the country would not like a connection with Holland; the King was much disappointed at this, Lord Melbourne said; he (the King) had always a fear about a marriage; he was afraid Mamma had intentions, which I observed she certainly had; and that the King therefore thought "he must *dévançer* her"; that Lord Melbourne told him, if he wished such a thing he had better be sure first if the *Parties* themselves liked it; for that he never could force such a thing; of which Lord Melbourne said the King never seemed sensible; at which I laughed. He said that the Prince of Orange also came to him (Ld. M.) from the King, and asked him if he or the Government had any objection to such a connection. "Personally," Lord Melbourne said to him, "there could be no objection; no more than to any other Prince in Europe"; but at the same time he must tell him that his (the Prince's) country was so situated that it would be constantly involved in war if any war was to break out; "I told him as much as that," Lord Melbourne said, "and that I could not say anything until we saw it in some sort of shape or other." This was all very curious and interesting for me to hear.

CHAPTER IV

MARCH—AUGUST, 1838

BUCKINGHAM PALACE, *Wednesday, 7th March*.—Dressed for riding. At a few m. p. 12 I rode out with Lord Conyngham, Lord Uxbridge, dear Lehzen, Miss Cavendish, Col. Cavendish, and Sir G. Quentin and Mr. Fozard. I mounted in the garden just under the terrace in order that nobody should know I was going to ride out. I rode my dear favourite Tartar who went perfectly and *most delightfully*, never shying, never starting through all the *very* noisy streets, rattling omnibuses—carts—carriages, &c., &c. I quite *love* him. We rode out through the garden, through the gate on Constitution Hill; round the park by the water, out at the new gate, by Lord Hill's former villa, a good way on the Harrow Road, I should say within 4 or 5 miles of Harrow—then down a pretty narrow lane where one could fancy oneself 2 or 300 miles from London, out by Willesden Field (where I had never been), and Kilburn, down the Edgware Road—Connaught Place, through omnibuses, carts, &c., &c., in at Cumberland Gate, galloped up to Hyde Park Corner—and in at the same garden gate at Constitution Hill, and safely to the Palace at 10 m. to 3. It was a lovely day, a beautiful and delicious ride, and I have come home quite charmed and delighted. Lord Melbourne spoke to me about my ride; said he had just come from the Cabinet, which was about these Canadian prisoners¹; viz. what is to be done with them; the

¹ The disposal of these prisoners was a difficult matter which became acute in the *interregnum* between the departure of Lord Gosford and the arrival of Lord

revolt being put down they cannot be tried by Martial Law, and there is great difficulty as to what is to be done with them. I said to Lord Melbourne I hoped he was not tired from last night; he said not at all. He said: "I am not quite so sure of to-night; I think we shall carry it, but you must not be surprised if it should be the other way." I coloured very much at this honest, frank avowal of our fears, from this best and kindest of friends; and tears were nearer than words to me at that moment. . . .

Thursday, 22nd March.—Lord Melbourne said he had been to see the Duke of Wellington this morning about asking him to be at the head of a Commission to be appointed to inquire into the promotions in the Army and in the Marines, which were so very slow in the time of peace and about which they were being attacked in the House of Commons. Lord Melbourne said the Duke had consented to it; and that his being at the head of it "will give it authority"; the Duke wished to know who was to be in the Commission; Lord Melbourne named them to him and he was very well satisfied with them. Lord Melbourne told me some of them, which are: Lord Hill, Sir Hussey Vivian, Sir Alexander Dickson,¹ Sir Thomas Hardy,² the First Lord of the Admiralty,³ and the Secretary at War.⁴ Lord Melbourne said, with the tears in his eyes, that the Duke was in very good humour, and "a very pleasant man to do business with, I think; he is so plain and speaks to the point." The Duke had been reviewing the Battalions which are going to Canada, and praised them very much, and said "par-

Durham. Sir John Colborne postponed a decision of the matter, and ultimately the prisoners were dealt with according to the gravity of the case, some being merely bound over, others deported to Bermuda.

¹ Major-General Sir A. Dickson, R.A., had been Superintendent of Artillery Operations in the Peninsula, and fought at Waterloo, and was Director-General of the Field-train Department.

² Vice-Admiral Sir Thomas Hardy (1769-1839), Captain of the *Victory* at Trafalgar. In 1830 he was First Sea Lord, and, later, Governor of Greenwich Hospital, a post he was holding at this time.

³ Lord Minto.

⁴ Lord Howick.

ticularly my regiment." The Duke said that Lord Brougham's speech on the Poor Laws was the best he ever heard him make. I told Lord Melbourne that *Diet* was the best physician for him; he said laughing, he drank too much *champagne*, and I added, mixed too many wines; at which he laughed a good deal.

Tuesday, 27th March.—At $\frac{1}{2}$ p. 12 I rode out with Lord Conyngham, Lord Uxbridge, Lord Byron,¹ Lady Mary, dearest Lehzen, Miss Cavendish, Miss Quentin, Sir F. Stovin and Col. Cavendish, and came home at $\frac{1}{2}$ p. 3, having ridden 22 MILES!!! We rode very hard and Tartar went MOST delightfully, NEVER was there SUCH a dear horse. We rode to Richmond, through part of the Richmond Park, out at Robin Hood Gate, and home over Wimbledon Common and Vauxhall Bridge. It was as hot as summer, and *going* I thought I should have melted; coming over Wimbledon Common there was some delicious air. It was a heavenly day.

Wednesday, 4th April.—Spoke of the Coronation, and the fuss the Princesses were in about their robes; I told Lord Melbourne that the Duchess of Gloucester had offered to hold the tip of my train when I was being crowned, as the Duchess of Brunswick had done for Queen Charlotte, and that I thought this very kind of the Duchess; which quite touched my good friend. Spoke of Hanwell, and rail-roads; I said I feared there were so many rail-roads that they could not all answer; Lord Melbourne said he feared they would not, but that he was sorry for it, as he was engaged in one. "I was fool enough to engage in one and to take 50 shares; I have already paid £1,000, and have lately had a call for £500 more," he added. This rail-road is in Nottingham and he engaged in it about 4 years ago. I asked him if he liked rail-roads in general; he replied, "I don't care about them," which made me laugh; and he added that they were bad for the country as they brought such a shocking set of people "who commit every horror."

¹ George, Lord Byron, succeeded his cousin the poet in 1824. He was an extra Lord-in-waiting to the Queen.

"They are picked men, who mind neither Lord nor laws, and commit every species of violence; nothing is safe," he added; and "it's more like a country in time of war" than peace. He spoke of Dorsetshire to Lady Portman, and she said it was so poor; he replied, "That's because you don't give enough wages."

Thursday, 5th April.—Spoke of Lady Burghersh¹; Lord Melbourne said, "She is of a great deal of use to us, in a quiet way"; for if he wished to communicate with the Duke of Wellington, he did it through her; he, of course, does not wish me to mention this; but I hope I *am* discreet and tell but little of what he tells to me. Lady Burghersh is a sensible, clever woman, and has great influence over the Duke.

Friday, 6th April.—Spoke of Byron, who Lord Melbourne said would not be 50 if he were alive²; he said he was extremely handsome; had dark hair, was very lame and limped very much; I asked if the expression of his countenance was agreeable; he said not; "he had a sarcastic, sardonic expression; a contemptuous expression." I asked if he was not agreeable; he said "He could be excessively so"; "he had a pretty smile"; "treacherous beyond conception; I believe he was fond of treachery." Lord Melbourne added, "he dazzled everybody," and deceived them; "for he could tell his story very well." . . . Lord Melbourne said, "The old King (George III.) had that hurried manner; but he was a shrewd, acute man, and most scrupulously civil." He added that the King was rather tall, red in the face, large though not a corpulent man; prejudiced and obstinate beyond conception; spoke of the old Duke of Gloucester who, he said, was not a clever man but a good-natured man, though very proud; of the Duchess of Gloucester his wife; Lord Melbourne said that Horace Walpole tells that one day *he* (I think) gave the Duke of Gloucester a fête at Strawberry Hill; and the Duchess came over

¹ Priscilla, daughter of William, first Lord Maryborough, and afterwards third Earl of Mornington. Her husband was afterwards eleventh Earl of Westmorland.

² He would have been 50 on January 22, 1838.

before to see that all was right; and when she came there she saw that the host had put up her arms with the Duke's; she said, "God bless me! this will never do; you must take this down directly, this will never do; the Duke would be extremely angry were he to see this." The Duchess was a Walpole by birth¹; she was first married to Lord Waldegrave; her children by that marriage were beautiful; they were Elizabeth, Lady Waldegrave,² Lady Euston,³ and Lady Hugh Seymour, who was mother to Sir Horace Seymour.⁴ "People were very fond of her," Lord Melbourne said. . . .

Monday, 16th April.—Lord Melbourne told me that there were very strange accounts of Lord Brougham and all he was *saying* and *doing* at Paris; his having gone to see Louis Philippe at 11 o'clock at night, when the Swiss Guard were (as they always are) asleep on the staircase; they stopped him (Brougham), saying the King was gone to bed; upon which Brougham observed that their King had "very rustic habits." Spoke of him, his visiting Lady Fitzharris⁵; Lord Melbourne spoke of Brougham and his oddities; of this Review which he (B.) has written and which Lord Melbourne thinks "well done." He thinks Queen Charlotte and George III. very harshly handled in it, and Queen Caroline amazingly puffed up; the Duke of York's character he thinks the best done; he says there is a great deal which Brougham seems not to know; spoke of George IV.'s character, not being understood; of Sir William Knighton's⁶ Memoirs which are just published, and which Lord Melbourne thinks it very wrong in Lady Knighton to have published; of George IV. being so completely in the hands of Knighton.

¹ She was an illegitimate daughter of Edward Walpole (second son of Sir Robert) by Mary Clement, a sempstress in Pall Mall. Their two other daughters became Countess of Albemarle and Countess of Dysart respectively.

² Married her cousin George, seventh Earl Waldegrave.

³ Wife of George, second Duke of Grafton.

⁴ Father of the Admiral, Sir Beauchamp Seymour, Lord Alcester.

⁵ Wife of James Howard, afterwards third Earl of Malmesbury.

⁶ Sir William Knighton had been physician to George IV., when Prince of Wales, and was private secretary and Keeper of his Privy Purse when King. The King employed him in various confidential matters.

Saturday, 21st April.—I showed Lord Melbourne the plans for changing the Slopes and making a new walk, and we looked over them for some time together. We then spoke of what *might* have happened when the Duke of York married; for who could foretell, Lord Melbourne observed, that the Duchess of York would have no children?—and that the late King should lose the two he had? This led us to speak of the whole Royal Family, their characters, of the Princesses marrying so late; of George III.'s dislike to their marrying, which Lord Melbourne did not know; of their beauty; he always thought Princess Sophia (when young) very pretty, though very like a Gipsy; spoke of the singular instance of both George III.'s and Queen Charlotte's being very plain and all their children very handsome; spoke of all the Princes and Princesses, of the two little Princes, Octavius and Alfred, who died; Lord Melbourne said, George III. said when he felt he was to be unwell (which he always forefelt) he dreamt and thought of Octavius. Lord Melbourne said Queen Charlotte had fine hands and feet, a good bust, and a pretty figure.

Sunday, 22nd April.—I spoke to him of what I was to write to Uncle relative to Soult's nomination¹; Soult, he told me, is a large, tall man; looks more "like the Purser of a ship" than an officer; a very distinguished officer risen from the ranks, and a man of great abilities besides. Lord Melbourne knew him when he was in Paris. I asked Lord Melbourne when he was first at Paris; in 1815 he said, which was the first time he was ever on the Continent. "We went," he said (which "we" implies himself and Lady Caroline, his wife) "to Brussels immediately after the Battle of Waterloo, to see Fred. Ponsonby² who was desperately wounded." This was in June 1815, and he went to Paris in August, and stayed

¹ Marshal Soult, Duke of Dalmatia, was appointed Ambassador of the King of the French at Queen Victoria's Coronation. He had been Wellington's antagonist in the Peninsula, and this added to his popularity with the masses of the London streets.

² General Sir Frederick Cavendish Ponsonby, K.C.B., G.C.M.G., second son of the third Earl of Bessborough, and brother of Lady Caroline Lamb. He was

there September and October and came back in November. He saw Uncle Leopold there then, and said he was extremely handsome.

Wednesday, 25th April.—In speaking before of Mrs. Baring,¹ who, I said, from having been the most affectionate of mothers, latterly never asked after her children,—Lord Melbourne said with the tears in his eyes, "That's a sure sign that all is over; when people intermit what they have been in the habit of doing." He mentioned that when William III. was dying they brought him some good news from abroad, but he took no notice of it whatever, and said, "Je tire à ma fin." . . .

Saturday, 28th April.—Lord Melbourne continued, that those who were about the Prince of Wales² were not liked at Court "and vice versa." And he said *his* family quite belonged to Carlton House; still, he added, the King and Queen were very civil to him. Speaking of George IV. he said, "He expected those he was fond of to go quite with him; to dislike those he disliked, and to like those he liked, and to turn with him." He then mentioned what he told me before, that his (Ld. M.'s) father and mother got into disgrace, for I think 3 years, when Mrs. Fitzherbert was banished, and they continued seeing her; and when George IV. came back to Mrs. Fitzherbert he came to dine with them (Lord Melbourne was there the first day he came) as if nothing had happened, and as if he had been there the day before. Lord Melbourne said, before all this, that "the only thing one learns at a public school" is *punctuality*, and the value of time; that he never had a clock in his room, and always called to somebody to tell him what o'clock it was, which he owned was bad, as it put you in the power of the man to make you late. He "never carried

the father of the late Sir Henry Ponsonby, Queen Victoria's private secretary and Keeper of her Privy Purse.

¹ Hortense Eugénie Claire, daughter of Duc de Bassano, Minister of Napoleon I., married 1833 to Francis Baring, afterwards third Lord Ashburton.

² Afterwards George IV.

a watch about him" in his life, and yet he thinks he generally knows what o'clock it is. . . .

Monday, 30th April.—I then showed him a little book relating to the Coronations of various of my Ancestors, and amongst others Queen Anne; he looked over parts of it, and glanced at one part which states that Queen Anne said in her first speech to Parliament that "*her heart was entirely English.*" Upon which Lord Melbourne told me that when she concluded the Peace of Utrecht, which was supposed to be rather favourable to the French, a Sir Samuel Garth¹ wrote a poem in which he said of Queen Anne: "The Queen this year has lost a part, Of her entirely English heart,"—which is very funny; Lord Melbourne did not remember what followed. Speaking of Prince George of Denmark, who Lord Melbourne said "was a very stupid fellow," he added that he (G. of Denmark) was always saying, "Est-il possible?" to everything, and was always saying so whenever he was told of another Lord having left James II. So when James heard that George of Denmark had left him, he said "So *Est-il possible* is gone at last!"

Lord Melbourne said again, what he told me the other day, that there was much which Brougham seemed to know nothing about; he (B.) states that Mrs. Fitzherbert did not know when she married the King that a marriage with a Catholic could not be valid; Lord Melbourne says she must have known that, and that, by what he has heard, she was against the marriage; he said Lord Holland knows a good deal about it, and that it is known *where* the marriage took place and by whom it was celebrated. Lord Melbourne thinks it took place in 1784 or 5²; the King left her in 1795, when Lady Jersey got into favour, whom he put about the Princess of Wales; he came back to Mrs. Fitzherbert in 1802,

¹ Garth was an eminent physician in the time of William III. and Queen Anne. He wrote occasional verses fluently, and his poem "The Dispensary" had a great vogue for fifty years.

² 21st December, 1785.

then left her for Lady Hertford, quarrelled with her, and then Lady Conyngham followed; the last-named, I observed, was very good-natured; Lord Melbourne said, "She was the most good-natured, but the most rapacious; she got the most money from him."

Thursday, 10th May.—At $\frac{1}{2}$ p. 10 the doors were opened and I went through the Saloon into the other Ball-room next the Dining-room in which was Strauss's band. I felt a little shy in going in, but soon got over it and went and talked to the people. The rooms I must say looked beautiful, were so well lit up, and everything so well done; and all done in one day. There was no crowd at all; indeed, there might have been more people. The dining-room looked also very handsome as the supper-room. The Throne-room was arranged for the tea-room. I danced (a Quadrille of course, as I only dance quadrilles) first (in the large ball-room) with George¹; and 2ndly with Prince Nicholas Esterhazy; there was a valse between each quadrille; I never heard anything so *beautiful* in my life as Strauss's band. We then went into the other ball-room where I danced two other quadrilles with Lord Jocelyn² and Lord Fitzalan³; the first named is very merry and funny. When I did not dance (which was only the case when valzing went on) I sat with Mamma and my Aunts, on a seat raised one step above the floor. Lady Fanny Cowper was my vis-à-vis when I danced with Lord Jocelyn. At 1 (after my quadrille with Lord Fitzalan) we went into the Supper-room. After supper we went into the large Ball-room where we remained till the last quadrille which I danced in Weippert's room. I danced with Lord Cowper (who was much less shy and very agreeable); Lord Uxbridge (who dances remarkably well); Lord Douro; Lord Folkestone⁴ (a great ally of mine); Lord Suffield⁵; and

¹ Prince George of Cambridge.

² Eldest son of the third Earl of Roden, and died in his father's lifetime. In 1841 he married Lady Fanny Cowper.

³ Grandson of the Duke of Norfolk.

⁴ Afterwards fourth Earl of Radnor.

⁵ Edward Vernon, fourth Lord Suffield (1813-53).

lastly with Lord Morpeth. There was a great deal of beauty there, amongst which were Lady Ashley, Lady Fanny Cowper, Lady Wilhelmina Stanhope, Lady Seymour,¹ Lady Clanricarde,² Lady Mary Vyner,³ Lady Norreys,⁴ Lady Emma Herbert,⁵ Lady Clanwilliam,⁶ Lady Mary Grimston,⁷ Lady Powerscourt,⁸ Miss Maude,⁹ Miss Elphinstone.¹⁰ Lady Fanny was twice my vis-à-vis, as was also Lady Adelaide Paget.¹¹ I did not leave the ball-room till 10 m. to *four*!! and was in bed by $\frac{1}{2}$ p. 4,—the sun shining. It was a lovely ball, so gay, so nice,—and I felt so happy and so merry; I had not danced for so long and was so glad to do so again! One *only* regret I had,—and that was, that my excellent, kind, good friend, Lord Melbourne was not there. I missed him much at this my first ball; he would have been pleased I think!

Saturday, 19th May.— . . . "Very nice party" (my Concert), Lord M. said, "and everybody very much pleased." I smiled and said I feared I had done it very ill; that I was quite angry with myself and thought I had done it so ill; and was not civil enough. He said most kindly, "Oh! no, quite the contrary, for I should have told you if it had been otherwise." I then said I had felt so

¹ Georgiana Lady Seymour, Queen of Beauty at the Eglinton Tournament. One of the Sheridan sisters.

² Daughter of Mr. Canning, the Prime Minister, and wife of the first Marquess of Clanricarde.

³ Daughter of the second Earl de Grey, K.G., and sister of Lady Cowper. She was married to Mr. Henry Vyner.

⁴ Daughter of G. G. Vernon Harcourt, M.P. Lord Norreys succeeded in 1854 to the earldom of Abingdon.

⁵ Daughter of the eleventh Earl of Pembroke, afterwards wife of Viscount de Vesci.

⁶ Sister of Lady Emma Herbert, and wife of the third Earl of Clanwilliam.

⁷ Daughter of the first Earl of Verulam. She married Lord Folkestone (see preceding page) in 1840.

⁸ Sister of Lord Jocelyn (see preceding page) and wife of the sixth Viscount Powerscourt.

⁹ Daughter of the third Viscount Hawarden.

¹⁰ Clementina, sister of the fourteenth Lord Elphinstone, afterwards wife of the fourth Viscount Hawarden.

¹¹ Daughter of Lord Anglesey, and sister of Lord Uxbridge. She married in 1851 Frederick, son of the third Earl Cadogan.

nervous and shy. "That wasn't at all observed," he said. I said that I often stood before a person not knowing what to say; and Lord Melbourne said that the longer one stood thinking the worse it was; and he really thought the best thing to do was to say anything commonplace and foolish, better than to say nothing.

Monday, 21st May.—Spoke of Talleyrand's death, which Lord Melbourne said he heard was quite like that of the former French Ministers—like Mazarin—the house full of people to see him die. He (Ld. Melbourne) said he had heard that Louis Philippe and Mme. Adelaide had been to see Talleyrand. Spoke of his fear of dying, which Lord Melbourne said people always said of persons whose feelings on religion were rather loose. Lord Melbourne said he heard that Talleyrand had signed a sort of recantation to the Pope, for something he had done, at the time of the Revolution—for having performed Mass upon some occasion or other.¹ . . .

Thursday, 24th May.—I this day enter my 20th year, which I think *very* old! In looking back on the past year, I feel more grateful than I can express for ALL the VERY GREAT BLESSINGS I have received since my last birthday. I have only ONE VERY dear affectionate friend less—dearest Louis²! Oh! if she could but be still with us!! Though I have *lost* a *dear* friend, I can never be *thankful* enough for the *true, faithful, honest, kind* one I've GAINED since last year, which is my *excellent* Lord Melbourne, who is so kind and good to me!! . . .

Monday, 28th May.—Spoke of writing to George of Hanover,³ which he said I should do; and also to the

¹ At the festival of the 14th July, 1790, held in the Champ de Mars he officiated at the altar. It was his last celebration of the Mass.

² An attached attendant, to whose memory the Queen erected a tablet in St. Martin's-in-the-Fields.

³ Prince George, born 1819, succeeded his father on the throne of Hanover in 1851. He ultimately suffered from total blindness, caused by swinging a bunch of keys attached to a chain, that struck accidentally one of his eyes. He sided with Austria in 1866 against Prussia, and after Sadowa his kingdom was annexed to Prussia by decree. King George was a K.G. and Duke of Cumberland. He was a Prince of amiable disposition and simple manners.

King of Hanover for his birthday ; spoke of the report of poor George's marrying a Russian Princess. He then continued saying it would raise a curious question, " his marrying a Greek " (of the Greek religion it is) ; for he believed that only marrying Roman Catholics was forbidden by law here (George being in the succession here). I said I thought it was said, all who were not of the Reformed Religion, without naming specifically (Greek, he says, he supposes is included under Roman Catholics) Roman Catholic. Lord Melbourne said I might be right, for that he had not looked at the Act for some time. He said he believed also that George could not marry without my leave.¹

Tuesday, 29th May.—I told him that Lord Glenelg had made me a present of a Black Swan ; Lord Melbourne said that a *Black Swan* was *not* a Swan ; " It's a Goose." Lady Mulgrave said the Ancients had Black Swans, and to prove it began quoting the lines from the Latin Grammar, which Lord Melbourne then repeated, and which I used to learn : " *Rara avis in terris, nigroque simillima cygno.*" Lord Melbourne said, *that* meant to describe something very rare, and which *did not exist*. I said to Lord Melbourne I was very glad to hear that he would come down to Windsor for the Eton Montem. He said, " It's quite right to go, but I don't think it's a very pleasant thing, the Montem ; rather foolish " ; and we spoke of the Regatta on the 4th of June, to which I'm not going. " The Regatta as you call it," he said to Lady Mulgrave ; " The Boats " it used always to be called. *That* is in fact done *without* the consent of the Masters, and all the boys were generally flogged next day. Lord Melbourne has not been to a Montem since 1809. In speaking of the head Colleger who generally is made the Captain, he said he was usually a big boy about 19 ; " More foolish than a boy," Lord Melbourne said laughing ; and that the expenses were so great, and the boy so extravagant for some time before, that he seldom

¹ According to the Royal Marriages Act, none of the Royal Family can marry without the Sovereign's consent.

cleared anything. I said the Montem generally ended in the boys' being sick and drunk; Lord Melbourne said in his funny manner, he thought in these days of education, no boys ever got drunk or sick—which I fear is *not* the case. He said all this eating and drinking, "all the chocolate and tea and coffee" for breakfast, had got up since his time; that when he was at Eton, they used to cut a roll in half and put a pat of butter inside it and give it to you, and that you then might drink a glass of milk and water (for breakfast); "I never could take milk, and therefore I always took water," he said, "and we did very well"; much better he thinks than they do now. He said that he remembered people always gave children what they disliked most; he used (before he went to school) to have *every* day boiled mutton and rice pudding, which he hated; "Children's stomachs are rather squeamish," he said; and boiled mutton is particularly nauseous to a child, he observed; and he hated rice pudding. "Somehow or other," he said, "they found out you disliked it, and there it was every day"; this, he thinks (and everybody else almost, I think, ought to do so), a bad system. He added, "Children's stomachs are rather delicate and *queasy*"; which made us all laugh.

Thursday, 31st May.—He said that Lord Mulgrave was very anxious about being made a Marquis at the Coronation, and that he supposed it must be done, but that it would offend other Earls; he added that there was great difficulty about making these Peers,—but that he must soon lay the list before me. "I shall advise Your Majesty to make as few as possible," he added. It would not do, he said, to make any Members of the House of Commons Peers, on account of vacating their seats. Lord Dundas wishes to be made an Earl, he says, which he supposes should be granted; and Lord Barham wishes to be made Earl of Gainsborough. William IV. made 16 Peers and 24 Baronets at his Coronation; and George IV. 15 Peers; "he was so clogged with promises," Lord Melbourne said, "he had made such heaps of promises."

Friday, 1st June.—Lord Melbourne had left Lady Holland in a great fright, fearing there would be a thunderstorm, of which she is dreadfully afraid. We spoke of thunderstorms, of people being afraid of them, of there being always a certain degree of danger; of the danger of standing under a tree. I told Lord Melbourne I never could forgive him for having stood under a tree in that violent thunderstorm at Windsor last year; he said, "It's a hundred to one that you're not struck," and then added smiling: "It's a sublime death."

Sunday, 3rd June.—We spoke of Music; of Lord Melbourne's going to sleep when Thomas Moore was singing, which he would hardly allow. Lord Melbourne quoted some lines to prove that Lydian music used to put people to sleep; and of Phrygian music, which made people fight. I showed Lord Melbourne the 1st number of a work called, *Portraits of the Female Aristocracy*. Then he, and also I, looked at a new Work called *Sketches of the People and Country of the Island of Zealand*, which are very well done. Lord Melbourne said, in opening it, "These are a fine race, but they eat men, and they say it's almost impossible to break them of it." He farther added, "There are no *animals* whatever there, and therefore they are obliged to eat men." Lady Mulgrave observed that she thought they only eat their enemies; Lord Melbourne said, "I fancy they eat them pretty promiscuously." Lord Melbourne was in excellent spirits, and very funny in his remarks about the different drawings; it's always my delight to make him look at these sorts of things, as his remarks are always so clever and funny. He again said that it was so difficult to break them (the New Zealanders) of eating men; "for they say it's the very best thing," which made us laugh. He added, "There was an old woman who was sick, and they asked her what she would like to have; and she said, 'I think I could eat a little piece of the small bone of a boy's head,'" and he pointed laughing to his own head, explaining *what* part of the head that

small bone was. . . . Lord Melbourne went on speaking of New Zealand, &c., and said, "The English eat up everything wherever they go; they exterminate everything"; and Lady Mulgrave and Mr. Murray¹ also said that wherever the English went, they always would have everything their own way, and never would accommodate themselves to other countries. "A person in a public situation should write as few private letters as possible." . . .

Monday, 4th June.—Spoke of the Eton Montem, and I told Lord Melbourne I was going to the Provost's house, which he said he was very glad of. There were two Montems while he was at Eton; he said no one knows the origin of the Eton Montem. Formerly there used to be, he said, a Mock Sermon at Salt Hill; a boy dressed like a clergyman and another like a clerk delivered a sort of sermon, and in the middle of it the other boys kicked them down the hill; George III. put a stop to it, as he thought it very improper. We spoke of the Montem, and of giving money, and Lord Melbourne said he thought he should give £20. I asked Lord Melbourne what he did when Lady Holland goes down to Brocket. "Oh! I give up the whole house to her," he replied. And he says she twists everything about; not only in her own room but in other rooms downstairs. Then she swears she has too much light, and puts out all the candles; then too little, and sends for more candles; then she shuts up first one window, then another. I showed him in the *Genealogy of Lodge's Peerage* how Lord Barham came to his title and how he was related to the Earl of Gainsborough. In looking over it, Lord Melbourne began to speak of Sir Charles Midleton, First Lord of the Admiralty, made 1st Lord Barham, and maternal grandfather to Lord Barham. He said he was a most distinguished and clever man. He told me, with the tears in his eyes, an anecdote of what he (Sir C. Midleton) did at the time of the Mutiny.²

¹ Hon. Charles Augustus Murray, Master of the Household.

² *I.e.*, Mutiny at the Nore, May 1797.

He was very much for those people and said, "I used always to think those poor fellows very hardly treated"; but when he heard of the Mutiny, he ordered two 74-gun ships to be put broadside of the ship in which the Mutineers were, and desire her to surrender, and if she did not, to send her to the bottom. So they said to him, "But if the men should disobey?" "Why, then we shall be in a scrape; but give your orders steadily, and they won't disobey." "That was very fine," said Lord Melbourne. Spoke of clothes, about which Lord Melbourne was very funny; said the fewer you had the better, and that he was certain it was very bad to keep things in *store*, at which we laughed much, and said it would be impossible for ladies to keep dresses in store, as the fashions always changed; and he was against keeping furs, as he said "The moth does corrupt." Spoke of Miss Chaworth, Byron's first admiration, about whom Lord Melbourne told a story on Sunday, which I did not quite understand, and I begged him to repeat it which he did. It was as follows:—Miss Chaworth was told that she would like Lord Byron very much (she *did* admire him) and would in fact marry him. She said, No, she never would; for that if ever she married, it should be a man with two straight legs (Byron having one leg and foot quite deformed¹ from his birth, which made him limp very much); this was told to Byron, whom it shocked most exceedingly, as he was extremely unhappy and conscious of his lameness, and made him quite indignant. He went to her, made her copy a piece of music for him (they had been in the habit of singing together) in order to have a remembrance of her, took it, left the house, and never saw her again. Lord Melbourne told me there was an awkwardness between the two families; as in George II.'s

¹ This is now proved not to have been the case. He suffered from infantile paralysis of one leg which was badly treated and developed into permanent lameness. Miss Chaworth's words, which were either overheard by or repeated to Byron, were, "Do you think I could care anything for that lame boy?" He did see her on more than one occasion in later years.

reign Miss Chaworth's ancestor was killed in a duel by a Lord Byron; they quarrelled at a Club, went upstairs, fought and Chaworth was killed¹; Lord Melbourne said it was always suspected that he had been killed unfairly, as Chaworth was known to be the best fencer there was, and it was thought that Byron passed his sword through him before they fought. Miss Chaworth married afterwards a Mr. Musters and was very unhappy; lived on bad terms with her husband, and at last died deranged. Lord Melbourne said he saw her once, he went over to her place, Annesley, when he was staying in Nottinghamshire in 1813, and stayed there two days. She was then living on very bad terms with her husband, and everything was in a very uncomfortable state; but she was very kind to Lord Melbourne. I asked Lord Melbourne where Lord Byron made the acquaintance of his cousin, Miss Milbanke, now the Dowager Lady Byron; he said at his house, at Whitehall, where Byron used to come.

Tuesday, 5th June.—At a ¼ to 11 we got into our carriages for Montem. Mamma and Lady Mulgrave were with me; Lord Melbourne, Miss Paget, Lord Albemarle and Lady Flora were in the next carriage to mine; then Lady Theresa, Miss Dillon, Lord Conyngnam, and Miss Davys; and lastly Lord Lilford, Mr. Murray, Colonel Wemyss and Col. Cavendish. These carriages *preceded* us in going to Eton. We were stopped on the Bridge for "Salt." When we reached Eton College we were received there by the Provost,² Dr. Hawtrey,³ and the other Fellows; we went under the Cloisters and saw all the boys march by, 3 times, which is a pretty sight; some of the boys were beautifully dressed. We then all went up to one of the rooms in the Provost's house, where we looked out of the window and saw the flag flourished; we then took some luncheon

¹ Her grand-uncle was killed as described by William, fifth Lord Byron, in 1765.

² Dr. Goodall.

³ The Head Master.



H.R.H. The Duchess of Kent
from a portrait by F. Winterhalter

at the Provost's, I sitting between the Provost and Lord Melbourne. The only people besides our own party there, were, Mrs. Goodall (the Provost's wife), Lady Braybrooke,¹ Edward of Saxe-Weimar,² Mr. Wood,³ and two nieces of the Provost's. The room in which we lunched is hung round with many portraits of the young men (now mostly, if indeed not all, old) who had been at Eton; amongst which were Lord Grey's, Lord Holland's, Lord Wellesley's, Mr. Canning's.⁴ Lord Melbourne's was not there, which it *ought* to have been. Lord Melbourne said he had been painted by Hoppner, for Dr. Langford (his Master, but not the *Head* Master, who was then Dr. Heath), and had been sold at the sale of his things when he died.⁵ Lord Melbourne said that Lord Holland had a fine countenance when young, but always *lame*, there being some ossification in one of his legs; he was "very slim" when young!! After luncheon we got into our carriages again (the other carriages *following* mine), and drove to Salt Hill, where we saw the boy again flourish the flag. The heat was *quite intense*, and the crowd *enormous*! We got back to the Castle at 20 m. to 2. I saw Lord Melbourne from 7 m. to 2 till 7 m. p. 2, in my room on my return. He said he was not tired, and was very anxious I should not be so. Spoke of the Montem, the fine boys; he thought they looked "very sheepish" and shy as they marched by; and the boy (a great big boy) who held up the bag for

¹ She was Jane, daughter of the second Marquess Cornwallis and wife of the third Lord Braybrooke.

² Son of Duke Charles Bernard and Duchess Ida (a sister of Queen Adelaide). Prince Edward was A.D.C. to Lord Raglan in the Crimea, and ultimately Commander of the Forces in Ireland.

³ Charles Wood (afterwards Lord Halifax). At this time Secretary to the Admiralty.

⁴ These portraits were among those which by custom were presented to the Head Master of Eton by certain distinguished Etonians on leaving school. The gift of a portrait was usually made by request. A boy was considered honoured by being asked to leave his portrait to the school. The custom lapsed about forty years since. This collection was recently overhauled by Mr. Lionel Cust. It is now in fine order, carefully arranged in the Provost's Lodge at Eton. The portraits have been engraved and collected in the form of a sumptuous volume.

⁵ This may be the portrait now in the Corridor at Windsor Castle.

"Salt," very shy, on the bridge. Lord Melbourne gave £10; and I £100. Lord Melbourne thought that the Provost and Mrs. Goodall, knew nobody, for she took Lord Melbourne for Ebrington. It is 69 years, Lord Melbourne told me (the Provost had said) since he (the Provost) walked in a Montem!

Wednesday, 6th June.—I showed him the letter from Uncle Leopold which I got yesterday, and in which he touches upon these unhappy Affairs, wishing *me* to prevent my Government from taking the lead in these Affairs, &c., &c.; and saying his position is *des plus embarrassantes*. Lord Melbourne read it over with great attention, and then spoke of it all most *kindly* and sensibly; said he did not see how we could get out of this Territorial Arrangement; said he felt that Uncle's position was not an agreeable one, for that he was made to do what his people disliked and what was extremely unpopular; "and people and countries never make allowances for the difficulties Kings are placed in; the King is made the Instrument of an Act which is extremely unpopular; and all the blame will fall upon him."

Sunday, 10th June.—I told Lord Melbourne that the Queen Dowager had come to me the day before, and had told me that Chambers¹ had told her that she must not pass another winter in England, and wished her to go to Madeira, which she declared was too far off; he then named Malta, to which she assented, and asked my leave to go, and to have a frigate to go in; about which Lord Melbourne said there could not be the slightest difficulty. I said she told me she preferred Malta, as being still in *my* dominions. . . . Lady Mulgrave began saying how much mischief the Eton boys committed after the Montem, hacking and cutting things all to pieces. Of the Montem, its origin; the wish of some to abolish it; the Provost's declaring he never would. The Provost, he told us, is the son of the butler

¹ W. F. Chambers, Physician-in-Ordinary to King William and Queen Adelaide, and afterwards to Queen Victoria and the Duchess of Kent.

of Lord Lichfield's grandfather. Spoke of Dr. Hawtrey's introducing much new learning, which the Provost disliked. Spoke of what the boys learn, and many coming away amazingly ignorant. What makes the school one, Lord Melbourne said, is that the most gentlemanly boys are sent there. Lord Melbourne told us that Talleyrand said, "*La meilleure éducation, c'est l'éducation Publique Anglaise; et c'est détestable!*" There is one Head Master and an Under Master, and eight other Masters at Eton, Lord Melbourne said. The Masters, he says, who are quite young men, often require more keeping in order and are more irregular than the boys. "*My opinion is,*" said Lord Melbourne, "that it does not much signify *what* is taught, if what's taught is *well* taught." Then he added, "People too often confound learning and knowledge with talent and abilities"; for that the two former could not make the two latter. Lord Melbourne was sent to Eton at 9 years old, but had been with a clergyman before, who taught him on quite a different principle, but very well; made him work very hard, with a dictionary, by himself, and at Eton they construe it to you first; "so that when I came to Eton I was infinitely superior to most of the other boys, and I could do my lessons and theirs too." That's because he *always* was cleverer than most other people. He said, "I never was so surprised as when I came there; I did not know what to do. It was perhaps 12 o'clock, and they said that I might stay out till two. I said, 'What can I do? Who is to stay with me now?' I thought it then very odd, for I had been accustomed to have 2 or 3 nursery-maids after me, not allowing me to wet my heels near the water; and here you are let into a field alone, with a river running through it, which is 10 feet deep at the bank; and if you make a false step you're drowned to a certainty." Then he said his father gave him a great deal of money, and he ate such a quantity of tarts, made himself so sick, though he was only there three weeks when he first went—that he was very ill when he went home, with eruptions and spots over his

face. This made us laugh much. Spoke of the fighting there, and that the Masters should never allow it to go on long. "I always yielded directly," he said, "if I found the boy too much for me; after the first round if I found I could not lick the fellow, I gave it up, and said, 'Come, this won't do, I'll go away, it's no use standing to be knocked to pieces.'" All this and a great deal more Lord Melbourne told us in the funniest, most delightful way possible; he is *so* amusing about himself, and so clever and sensible about education.

Thursday, 14th June.—Spoke of Miss Pitt, and of our fearing she was attached to her brother-in-law; Lord Melbourne said such a marriage could not take place now¹; that the *Law* preventing it was only made last year. Till then such a marriage could take place; but was void, if any of the parties made objections to such marriage. This Bill made good all such marriages which had taken place (like the Duke of Beaufort's²) but prevented any others being made. Lord Melbourne said he did not know if it was right or wrong; we spoke of it for a little while.³ I then asked him if he thought it would be well, if, on occasions like the Races, I should wear my Star and Ribbon; he said yes.⁴ I said to him also, that, if he did not dislike it, I should be so *very* happy if he would wear the Windsor Uniform when he came down to Windsor; he replied kindly, "I shall be very happy," and I added I hoped he would often be at Windsor.⁵

¹ The Marriage Act of 1835 made null and void all marriages within the prohibited degrees of consanguinity or affinity. Before they had only been voidable.

² In this case the two wives were *half* sisters, daughters of the Duke of Wellington's sister by different husbands.

³ The Prince Consort was strongly in favour of legalising these marriages, and King Edward (then Prince of Wales) always voted in favour of the Bills introduced for the purpose of amending the law.

⁴ This custom has now unfortunately fallen into disuse.

⁵ No one has a prescriptive or *ex officio* right to wear the "Windsor uniform." It is an honour conferred personally by the Sovereign. Of recent Prime Ministers, this privilege has been enjoyed by Lord Salisbury, Lord Rosebery, and Mr. Balfour.

Monday, 18th June.—I must not omit to mention that I wrote a letter to Stockmar begging him to mention to Lord Melbourne my anxious wish to give him the *Blue Ribbon* (which I offered to him through Stockmar already last year, immediately upon my accession, and which he refused in the most noble manner), as I said I felt I owed him so much; and he had been and was so very kind to me that it would grieve me to be giving other people honours whom I cared not about, and him nothing. Stockmar told me this morning he had shown Lord Melbourne my letter and that Lord Melbourne would speak to me on the subject. Accordingly Lord Melbourne said to me, "The Baron showed me your letter, and I feel very grateful, I am very sensible of Your Majesty's kindness"; upon which I assured him he was quite right (having previously heard from Stockmar that he would decline it); "I hope," he continued, "you don't think I've any contempt for these things, but it gives me such a command"; which is most true; "and therefore you'll allow me to decline it."¹ I added I thought him quite right but that *I* could not do less. This is a fine noble disinterested act, and worthy of Lord Melbourne, and I honour, esteem and admire him the more for it; it only increases my fondness of him.² . . .

Friday, 22nd June.—At a $\frac{1}{4}$ p. 2 came Marshal Soult, Duc de Dalmatie, who was introduced by Lord Glenelg. I was very curious to see him; he is not tall, but very broad, and one leg quite crooked from having been severely wounded; his complexion is dark, and he has the appearance of great age; his features are hard, and he speaks slowly and indistinctly. His eyes are piercing; he seemed much embarrassed. I then went into the outer room, where he presented his 12 (I think) Attachés

¹ In 1847, when the offer was repeated, Lord Melbourne wrote to the Queen that "for a long time he had found himself much straitened in his circumstances" and that "he knows that the expense of accepting the ribbon amounts to £1,000, and there has been of late years no period at which it would not have been seriously inconvenient to him to pay down such a sum."

² With the exception of Lord Beaconsfield and Lord Palmerston, no Prime Minister, as such, has accepted the Garter in recent times.

to me, amongst whom were the Marquis de Dalmatie (his son), and his son-in-law.

Thursday, 28th June!—I was awoke at four o'clock by the guns in the Park, and could not get much sleep afterwards on account of the noise of the people, bands, &c., &c. Got up at 7 feeling strong and well; the Park presented a curious spectacle; crowds of people up to Constitution Hill, soldiers, bands, &c. I dressed, having taken a little breakfast before I dressed, and a little after. At $\frac{1}{2}$ p. 9 I went into the next room dressed exactly in my House of Lords costume; and met Uncle Ernest, Charles and Feodore (who had come a few minutes before into my dressing-room), Lady Lansdowne, Lady Normanby, the Duchess of Sutherland, and Lady Barham, all in their robes. At 10 I got into the State Coach with the Duchess of Sutherland and Lord Albemarle, and we began our Progress. It was a fine day, and the crowds of people exceeded what I have ever seen; many as there were the day I went to the City, it was nothing—nothing to the multitudes, the millions of my loyal subjects who were assembled in *every spot* to witness the Procession. Their good-humour and excessive loyalty was beyond everything, and I really cannot say *how* proud I feel to be the Queen of *such* a Nation. I was alarmed at times for fear that the people would be crushed and squeezed on account of the tremendous rush and pressure. I reached the Abbey amid deafening cheers at a little after $\frac{1}{2}$ p. 11; I first went into a robing-room quite close to the entrance, where I found my eight Train-bearers: Lady Caroline Lennox, Lady Adelaide Paget, Lady Mary Talbot, Lady Fanny Cowper, Lady Wilhelmina Stanhope, Lady Anne Fitzwilliam, Lady Mary Grimston, and Lady Louisa Jenkinson,—all dressed alike and beautifully, in white satin and silver tissue, with wreaths of silver corn-ears in front, and a small one of pink roses round the plait behind, and pink roses in the trimming of the dresses. After putting on my Mantle, and the young ladies having properly got hold of it, and Lord Conyngham holding the end of it, I left the robing-room and the

Procession began. The sight was splendid; the bank of Peeresses quite beautiful, all in their robes, and the Peers on the other side. My young Train-bearers were always near me, and helped me whenever I wanted anything. The Bishop of Durham¹ stood on one side near me. At the beginning of the Anthem where I've made a mark, I retired to St. Edward's Chapel, a small dark place immediately behind the Altar, with my Ladies and Train-bearers; took off my crimson robe and kirtle and put on the Supertunica of Cloth of Gold, also in the shape of a kirtle, which was put over a singular sort of little gown of linen trimmed with lace; I also took off my circlet of diamonds, and then proceeded bare-headed into the Abbey; I was then seated upon St. Edward's chair where the Dalmatic robe was clasped round me by the Lord Great Chamberlain. Then followed all the various things; and last (of those things) the Crown being placed on my head;—which was, I must own, a most beautiful impressive moment; *all* the Peers and Peeresses put on their Coronets at the same instant. My excellent Lord Melbourne, who stood very close to me throughout the whole ceremony, was *completely* overcome at this moment, and very much affected; he gave me *such* a kind, and I may say *fatherly* look. The shouts, which were very great, the drums, the trumpets, the firing of the guns, all at the same instant, rendered the spectacle most imposing. The Enthronization and the Homage of, 1st all the Bishops, then my Uncles, and lastly of all the Peers, in their respective order, was very fine. The Duke of Norfolk (holding for me the Sceptre with a Cross) with Lord Melbourne, stood close to me on my right, and the Duke of Richmond with the other Sceptre on my left. All my Train-bearers standing behind the Throne. Poor old Lord Rolle, who is 82 and dreadfully infirm, in attempting to ascend the steps, fell and rolled quite down, but was not the least hurt; when he attempted to reascend them I got up and advanced to the end

¹ Edward Maltby (1770-1859), Bishop of Durham, to which he had been recently translated from Chichester.

of the steps, in order to prevent another fall. When Lord Melbourne's turn to do Homage came, there was loud cheering; they also cheered Lord Grey and the Duke of Wellington; it's a pretty ceremony; they first all touch the Crown, and then kiss my hand. When my good Lord Melbourne knelt down and kissed my hand, he pressed my hand and I grasped his with all my heart, at which he looked up with his eyes filled with tears and seemed much touched, as he was, I observed, throughout the whole ceremony. After the Homage was concluded I left the Throne, took off my Crown and received the Sacrament; I then put on my Crown again, and re-ascended the Throne, leaning on Lord Melbourne's arm; at the commencement of the Anthem I descended from the Throne, and went into St. Edward's Chapel with my Ladies, Train-bearers, and Lord Willoughby, where I took off the Dalmatic robe, Supertunica, and put on the Purple Velvet Kirtle and Mantle, and proceeded again to the Throne, which I ascended leaning on Lord Melbourne's hand. There was another present at this ceremony, in the box immediately above the Royal Box, and who witnessed all; it was Lehzen, whose eyes I caught when on the Throne, and we exchanged smiles. She and Späth, Lady John Russell and Mr. Murray saw me leave the Palace, arrive at the Abbey, leave the Abbey and again return to the Palace!! I then again descended from the Throne, and repaired with all the Peers bearing the Regalia, my Ladies and Train-bearers, to St. Edward's Chapel, as it is called; but which, as Lord Melbourne said, was more *unlike* a Chapel than anything he had ever seen; for, what was *called* an *Altar* was covered with sandwiches, bottles of wine, &c. The Archbishop came in and *ought* to have delivered the Orb to me, but I had already got it. There we waited for some minutes; Lord Melbourne took a glass of wine, for he seemed completely tired; the Procession being formed, I replaced my Crown (which I had taken off for a few minutes), took the Orb in my left hand and the Sceptre

in my right, and thus *loaded* proceeded through the Abbey, which resounded with cheers, to the first Robing-room, where I found the Duchess of Gloucester, Mamma, and the Duchess of Cambridge with their ladies. And here we waited for at least an hour, with *all* my ladies and Train-bearers; the Princesses went away about half an hour before I did; the Archbishop had put the ring on the wrong finger, and the consequence was that I had the greatest difficulty to take it off again,—which I at last did with great pain. Lady Fanny, Lady Wilhelmina, and Lady Mary Grimston looked quite beautiful. At about $\frac{1}{2}$ p. 4 I re-entered my carriage, the Crown on my head and Sceptre and Orb in my hand, and we proceeded the same way as we came—the crowds if possible having increased. The enthusiasm, affection and loyalty was really touching, and I shall ever remember this day as the *proudest* of my life. I came home at a little after 6,—really *not* feeling tired.¹

At 8 we dined. Besides we 13, Lord Melbourne and Lord Surrey² dined here. Lord Melbourne came up to me and said, “I must congratulate you on this most brilliant day,” and that all had gone off *so* well. He said he was not tired, and was in high spirits. I sat between Uncle Ernest and Lord Melbourne, and Lord Melbourne between me and Feodore, whom he had led in. My kind Lord Melbourne was much affected in speaking of the whole ceremony. He asked kindly if I was tired; said the Sword he carried (the 1st, the Sword of State) was excessively heavy. I said that the Crown hurt me a good deal. He was much amused at Uncle Ernest’s being astonished at our still having the Litany³; we

¹ The ceremonial as described by the Queen does not compare favourably with those of King Edward or King George, when hardly a mistake was made by any of those officiating. The ritual at the Coronation of King Edward was especially difficult, owing to the age and infirmities of Archbishop Temple.

² Lord Surrey was son and heir of the Earl Marshal, the twelfth Duke of Norfolk, whom he succeeded in 1842. He married Charlotte Sophia, daughter of the first Duke of Sutherland.

³ The Litany was omitted at the Coronation of King Edward VII., and re-introduced at the Coronation of King George V.

agreed that the whole thing was a very fine sight. He thought the robes,¹ and particularly the Dalmatic, "looked remarkably well." "And you did it all so well; excellent!" said he with the tears in his eyes. He said he thought I looked rather pale, and "moved by all the people" when I arrived; "and that's natural." The Archbishop's and Dean's Copes (which were remarkably handsome) were from James the 1st's time; the very same that were worn at his Coronation, Lord Melbourne told me. Spoke of the Duc de Nemours² being like his father in face; of the young ladies' (Train-bearers') dresses which he thought beautiful; and he said he thought the Duchess of Richmond (who had ordered the make of the dresses, and had been much condemned by some of the young ladies for it) quite right. She said to him, "One thing I was determined about; that I would have no discussion with their Mamas about it." Spoke of Talleyrand and Soult having been much struck by the ceremony of the Coronation; of the English being far too generous *not* to be kind to Soult. Lord Melbourne went home the night before, and slept very deeply till he was woke at 6 in the morning. I said I did not sleep well. Spoke of the Illuminations and Uncle Ernest's wish to see them.

Monday, 9th July.—At a $\frac{1}{4}$ p. 11 I went with Mamma and the Duchess of Sutherland, Feodore, Lady Barham, Lord Conyngham, Lord Albemarle, Miss Pitt, Lady Flora, Späth, Lord Fingall, Miss Spring Rice, and Miss Davys, Lady Harriet Clive and Mr. Murray to a Review in Hyde Park, of which I subjoin an account. I could have cried almost not to have *ridden* and been in *my right* place as I ought; but Lord Melbourne and Lord Hill thought it more prudent on account of the great crowd that I should not *this* time do so,³ which however now

¹ The robe is exhibited in the London Museum at Lancaster House.

² Second son of Louis Philippe. He was offered two thrones, Belgium in 1831 and Greece in 1832, but declined both.

³ This was certainly an error of judgment on the part of Lord Melbourne. The Queen's appearance on horseback, in the uniform still to be seen in the

they all see I might have done, and Lord Anglesey (who had the command of the day, looked so handsome, and did it beautifully and gracefully) regretted much I did not ride. I drove down the lines. All the Foreign Princes and Ambassadors were there, and the various uniforms looked very pretty. The troops never looked handsomer or did better; and I heard their praises from all the Foreigners and particularly from Soult. There was an immense crowd and all so friendly and kind to me. . . .

Wednesday, 11th July.—Spoke of Soult, and that Uncle Ernest said that the Duc de Nemours told him that Soult was in excellent humour here, in better humour than he had ever seen him. Lord Melbourne seemed pleased. He said he was not at all surprised at the manner in which the English received Soult; as they were always curious to see distinguished foreigners. During the War, at the Peace of Amiens when Marshal Orison¹ came over, they took the horses out of his carriage and dragged him through the streets; "and that was in the midst of war," he continued. "Many people were rather annoyed at that; but that was from mere curiosity." I spoke of Feodore, and asked him if he saw any likeness between us; he said, "I see the likeness, though not perhaps very strong." I spoke of her children and of Charles (her eldest) being her favourite, as he was so much the fondest of her. Lord Melbourne said smiling that one must not judge according to that, and to the *manner* in which children *showed* their love; "Children are great dissemblers; remember how Lear was deceived by that. They learn to be the greatest hypocrites," he said.

London Museum, was extraordinarily fascinating, and added greatly to the interest of any review at which she appeared.

¹ The Queen evidently did not grasp a name unfamiliar to her. The ratification of the Treaty of Amiens was sent over by Napoleon in charge of Colonel Lauriston, his A.D.C. When this officer left the house of M. Otto in London to deliver his credentials to Lord Hawkesbury, the scene occurred which the Queen here describes. The carriage was accompanied to Downing Street by a guard of honour of the Household Cavalry.

Monday, 24th July.—I said to Lord Melbourne that I thought the Coronation made him ill, and all the worry of it; he said he thought he would have been ill without it; "It wasn't the *Coronation*," he said, "it was all these Peerages; but I think that's subsiding a little now." I asked if Lord Derby expected being made a Duke; Lord Melbourne replied, "No, I don't think he did; I told him at once that could not be, and that generally satisfies people." Lord Derby has a very good claim for it, Lord Melbourne said, for the following reasons:—George III. declared he never would make any Dukes, and wished to reserve that Title *only* for the Royal Family; and he only made 2, Lord Melbourne thinks—the Duke of Northumberland and the Duke of Montagu¹; Mr. Fox told the late Lord Derby that if he could ever make the King waive his objections, *he* should be made a Duke; and *this*, Lord Melbourne said, certainly was a strong pledge for a Whig Government; but Lord Grey passed him over (Ld. M. doesn't know why) and made the Duke of Sutherland and the Duke of Cleveland; and Lord Derby said in his letter to Lord Melbourne, "he did not see why the names of Vane (D. of Cleveland), Grenville (Duke of Buckingham), and Grosvenor (Ld. Westminster), should be preferred before him."² He did not mention *Gower*, Lord Melbourne thinks from civility, but that he *feels* the same respecting him. I asked *what Duke* he wished to be; Lord Melbourne said he supposed Duke of Derby, which was formerly a Royal title, having belonged to the Dukes of Lancaster; he takes his title from Derby, a Hundred of Lancashire—*not* from the C^o. of Derby. He thinks, Lord Melbourne continued, that he has a right to be Duke of Hamilton, through his mother, Lady Elizabeth Hamilton, who was daughter to

¹ The dukedom of Montagu, created in 1766, became extinct at the death of the first Duke in 1790.

² In later years Edward Geoffrey, fourteenth Earl of Derby, three times Prime Minister, was reported to have refused a dukedom, on the ground that he would not exchange his Earl's coronet, which dated from the fifteenth century, for a set of new strawberry leaves.

James, 6th Duke of Hamilton, and a very handsome person; I asked who she married afterwards: Lord Melbourne replied, "It was a very awkward business; she *married* nobody; she had a great attachment for the Duke of Dorset" (father to the late), "Lord Derby parted from her, but would not divorce her, in order that she might not marry the Duke of Dorset." "The Duke of Dorset," Lord Melbourne continued, "was a very handsome and agreeable man; with a great deal of gallantry."... I asked Lord Melbourne what sort of person Charles Sheridan was; he said an agreeable lively young man; but rather wild. We then spoke for a long time about all the Sheridans. C. Sheridan was in the Admiralty and rose to get £300 a year; but they fancied, he said, that he was in bad health, and made him give it up. There are three sons, Brinsley, Frank (who is with Lord Normanby), and Charles; "They are, like all the Sheridans, clever but careless, and have no application," he said. They plagued Lord Melbourne constantly to give Charles a place; and Lord Melbourne offered him a Clerkship in the Audit Office; but he would not have that, and said it was less than he had had. George Anson¹ told Lord Melbourne it would be quite nonsense to give it to him, as he would never come, and there would be a complaint of him the first month.

Wednesday, 1st August.—I asked Lord Melbourne if he saw any likeness in me to the Duke of Gloucester; he said none whatever; for that when formerly they wished to make me angry, they always said I was like him. I asked if Lord Melbourne remembered the Duke's father; he said he did; that he was a very good man, but also very dull and tiresome. His two brothers were Edward, Duke of York, who died long before Lord Melbourne was born, and Henry, the Duke of Cumberland. "The Duke of Gloucester and the Duke of Cumberland always remained Whigs," Lord Melbourne said, "and never could understand the King's (George III.) change; they

¹ Lord Melbourne's private secretary. He afterwards served Prince Albert in a similar capacity.

said the Whigs brought their Family to this country; they went with the King but could not understand it." Lord Melbourne said, "Whenever George IV. took offence at the church, he used to say, 'By God, my Uncle the Duke of Cumberland was right when he told me, The people you must be apprehensive of, are those black-legged gentlemen.'"

Whenever George III. was going to be ill, the King heard—Lord Melbourne continued—perpetually ringing in his ears, one of Handel's oratorios; and was constantly thinking of Octavius¹ who died, "of whom he (the King) said, 'Heaven will be no Heaven to me if my Octavius isn't there.'" But his "master delusion," as Lord Melbourne expressed it, was thinking that he was married to Lady Pembroke (Lady Elizabeth Spencer that was, and Mother to the late Lord Pembroke, and who only died 7 or 8 years ago), with whom he had been very much in love in his young days, and very near marrying. I told Lord Melbourne I remembered going to see her when she was ninety, and she was very handsome even then. Lord Melbourne then told me how very near George III. was marrying Lady Sarah Lennox,² sister to the late Duke of Richmond, who was excessively handsome. Lord Melbourne said he was only prevented from marrying her "by her levity." This was quite early in his reign.

Sunday, 5th August.—Spoke of Lord Alfred's³ having gone to see his father's leg, which is buried at Waterloo, and of *100 old women* having come to see him get into his carriage when they heard whose son he was. We spoke of all this; of Sir H. Vivian's suffering much now, Lord Melbourne said, in consequence of a severe blow

¹ His son who died, aged four years, in 1783.

² Lady Sarah Lennox, who was a daughter of the second Duke of Richmond, married first, Sir Thomas Charles Bunbury, secondly the Hon. George Napier. George III. was undoubtedly much attracted by this lady. By her second marriage she became the "Mother of the Napiers," a designation almost as famous in the British history of the Napoleonic Wars as the "Mother of the Gracchi" in Republican Rome.

³ Lord Alfred Paget, son of Lord Anglesey.

he got at Waterloo "by a spent grape shot." Lord Melbourne went over to Brussels almost immediately *after* the battle of Waterloo, to see Sir Frederic Ponsonby, who was dreadfully wounded, stabbed through and through; Lord Melbourne said, though he lived for 20 years afterwards, he certainly died in consequence of these wounds. I asked Lord Melbourne if he didn't think Johnson's Poetry very hard; he said he did, and that Garrick said, "Hang it, it's as hard as Greek." His Prose he admires, though he said pedantry was to be observed throughout it; and Lord Melbourne thinks what he *said* superior to what he *wrote*. In spite of all that pedantry, Lord Melbourne said, "a deep feeling and a great knowledge of human nature" pervaded all he said and wrote. . . .

Sunday, 12th August.—Lord Melbourne was very funny about the Statue of the Duke of Wellington which is put up (in wood) only as a Trial, on the Archway on Constitution Hill,¹ and which we think looks dreadful and much too large; but Lord Melbourne said he thought a statue would look well there, and that it should be as large. We then observed what a pity Wyatt should do the statue, as we thought he did them so ill; and we mentioned George III.'s; but Lord Melbourne does not dislike that, and says it's exactly like George III., and like his way of bowing.² He continued, "I never will have anything to do with Artists; I wished to keep out of it all; for they're a waspish set of people." . . .

Wednesday, 15th August.—I asked Lord Melbourne if it ever had been usual for the Sovereign to *read* the Speech *after* the Prime Minister had done so at the

¹ The equestrian statue of the Duke of Wellington stood on the arch at Hyde Park Corner from 1846 to 1883. It excited much ridicule at the time of its erection. There was a question of its removal, but the Duke of Wellington strongly opposed the suggestion. He said that he never wished his statue to be put upon the Arch, but once there, there it should remain. It was removed nearly forty years later to Aldershot. Recently some prancing horses and a chariot have taken the place of old Copenhagen and the Duke.

² As an illustration of the vagaries of "taste" in Art, it may be mentioned that this statue is now considered one of the most successful in London,

Council, as Lord Lansdowne had twice asked that question. Lord Melbourne said, never; but that the late King had done it once, when he was in a great state of irritation, and had said, "I will read it myself, paragraph by paragraph." This was the last time the late King ever prorogued Parliament in person. I asked if Brougham was in the House; he said no, he was gone. I told him I heard Brougham had asked Lady Cowper down to Brougham Hall; but that she wouldn't go; I asked if she knew him (Brougham) well; Lord Melbourne said very well, and "I've known him all my life; he can't bear me now; he won't speak to me; I've tried to speak to him on ordinary subjects in the House of Lords, but he won't answer, and looks very stern"; Lord Melbourne said, laughing, "Why, we've had several severe set-to's, and I've hit him very hard." I asked if he (B.) didn't still sit on the same bench with Lord Melbourne. "Quite on the gangway; only one between," replied Lord Melbourne. Lord Melbourne and I both agreed that it was *since* the King's death that Brougham was so enraged with Lord Melbourne; for, till then, he would have it that it was the *King's* dislike to him (and the King made no objection whatever to him, Lord Melbourne told me) and *not Lord Melbourne*; "he wouldn't believe me," Lord M. said; and *now* he's undeceived. Brougham always, he said, used to make a great many speeches. I observed that I thought if his daughter was to die, he would go mad; but Lord Melbourne doesn't think so; and said, "A man who is always very odd never goes really mad."

Thursday, 16th August.—"You were rather nervous,"¹ said Lord Melbourne; to which I replied, dreadfully so; "More so than any time," he continued. I asked if it was observed; he said, "I don't think anyone else would have observed it, but I could see you were." Spoke of my fear of reading it too low, or too loud, or too quick; "I thought you read it very well," he said kindly. I spoke of my great nervousness, which I said I feared I

¹ This refers to the reading by the Queen of her "Speech."

never would get over. "I won't flatter Your Majesty that you ever will; for I think people scarcely ever get over it; it belongs to a peculiar temperament, sensitive and susceptible; that shyness generally accompanies high and right feelings," said Lord Melbourne most kindly; he was so kind and paternal to me. He spoke of my riding, which he thought a very good thing. "It gives a feeling of ease the day one has done with Parliament," said Lord Melbourne. He spoke of the people in the Park when I went to the House; and I said how very civil the people were—*always*—to me; which touched him; he said it was a very good thing; it didn't do to rely too much on those things, but that it was well it was there. I observed to Lord Melbourne how ill and out of spirits the Duke of Sussex was; "I have ended the Session in great charity," said Lord Melbourne, "with the Duke of Wellington, but I don't end it in charity with those who didn't vote with the Duke when he voted with us"; we spoke of all that; "The Duke is a very great and able man," said Lord Melbourne, "but he is more often wrong than right." Lord Holland wouldn't allow this; "Well, let's throw the balance the other way," continued Lord Melbourne, "but when he is wrong he is *very* wrong."

Friday, 17th August.—I then told Lord Melbourne that I had so much to do, I didn't think I possibly could go to Windsor on Monday; he said if I put off going once for that reason, I should have to put it off again, which I wouldn't allow; I said there were so many things to go, and to pack,—and so many useless things; "I wouldn't take those useless things," said Lord Melbourne laughing. I then added that he couldn't have an idea of the number of things women had to pack and take; he said many men had quite as much,—which I said couldn't be, and he continued that Lord Anglesey had 36 trunks; and that many men had 30 or 40 different waistcoats, and neck-cloths, to choose from; which made me laugh; I said a man *couldn't* really want more than 3 or 4 coats for some months. He said in fact 6 were enough for a

year,—but that people had often fancies for more. I said our dresses required such smooth packing; “Coats ought to be packed smooth,” replied Lord Melbourne.

Sunday, 19th August.—Spoke of the Phoenix Park being considered unwholesome; of its being drained by what they call the Sub-soil-plough. He repeated the anecdote about Lord Talbot; the present Lord Talbot—(I believe I have already noted down the anecdote as he told it me twice before, but am not quite sure)—asked someone why they had never thought of draining the Phoenix Park, and they replied, “Why, your Ancestors were so much employed in draining the *Country*, that they had no time to think of draining the Park.” He said Talleyrand told an anecdote of a lady in the time of the Revolution who was speaking of what she would be, and she said, “Paysanne, oui; mais Bourgeoise, jamais.” I said to Lord Melbourne I was afraid he disliked the Germans, as he was always laughing at them, which he wouldn’t allow at all and laughed much. He said, “I’ve a great opinion of their talents, but not of their beauty.” He asked if I had seen Mr. MacNeill’s¹ despatches giving an account of his going into *Herat* at night; I replied, I had not; Lord Melbourne said it was a very curious and even fearful account, his going through these Barbaric Armies at night, 9 o’clock, all the Persians without, prepared for the Attack, and all those within, for Defence; and he gave an interesting account of one of the principal persons in Herat; Mr. MacNeill said he found them quite disposed to negotiate, but when he returned to the Shah’s camp, he found the Russian Ambassador there, and the Shah would listen to nothing; so Mr. MacNeill came away. Spoke of not liking the Cathedral Service and all that singing, and Lord Melbourne said, “It is inconsistent with a calm and right devotion; it’s papistical, and theatrical.”²

¹ Afterwards Sir John MacNeill. He had been sent as Envoy to Teheran to try to prevent the Shah attacking the Afghans.

² Lord Melbourne was a “low Churchman and an Erastian,” like so many of the Whigs of that day.

Wednesday, 29th August.—Lord Melbourne said he had been looking at those letters to Lord North, and found on closer examination that they were written with much more practical knowledge and knowledge of men than he had at first thought. The letters he has been reading are relative to a Negotiation which the King entered into, with the Opposition, in order to strengthen the Government; and Lord Melbourne related several parts of it, which made him smile and which he said were true enough. Lord Melbourne said he (George III.) couldn't bear Mr. Fox, for that he says that in one of these letters that he (Lord North) might offer him any situation which did not bring him in immediate contact with the King, or into the Closet; and as he (Mr. Fox) never had any principles, he wouldn't have any difficulty in changing. These letters prove, Lord Melbourne said, what strong personal dislikes the King had. Lord M. thinks they were returned to George IV. by Mrs. Douglas on the death of her husband, who was the son of Lady Glenbervie, Lord North's daughter.

Lord M. does not think that George III. was very fond of Mr. Pitt. Spoke of the violent dislikes George III. and George IV. had; William IV. had them also, but Lord M. said they were easily got over. Spoke of George III.'s hand-writing; of mine, which Lord M. thinks very legible and generally very good; of my inclination to imitate hand-writings, and people,—which Lord M. said, showed quickness, and was in the Family; of George IV.'s mimicry. I said I kept a journal, which, as Lord Melbourne said, is very laborious, but a very good thing; for that it was astonishing in transacting business, how much one forgot, and how one forgot *why* one did the things.

Friday, 31st August.—Lord M. said Lady Holland was a great friend of Pozzo's, and that his first acquaintance with Pozzo was at Holland House. I asked if she knew Sebastiani¹; he said she did, but didn't like him much, except from his connection with Napoleon, "whom she

¹ French Ambassador in London.

adored." She never knew Napoleon, Lord Melbourne added, but saw him at Paris at the Peace of Amiens. She used to send him things she knew he liked, said Lord M. ; when he was at St. Helena she sent him *gâteaux* and chocolate, &c. "She was half on his side," Lord M. continued, "if not more." Spoke of Lady E. Wortley's¹ admiration for Napoleon. Soult was no friend of Napoleon, Lord M. said ; none of them, he continued, were to be compared to Napoleon himself ; the two best after Napoleon, Lord M. said, were Dessaix who was killed at Marengo, and Kleber who was murdered in Egypt.

¹ Lady Emmeline Wortley, daughter of the fifth Duke of Rutland, wife of Charles Stuart Wortley. Her daughter, Victoria, goddaughter of the Duchess of Kent, afterwards Lady Welby-Gregory, was sometime a maid-of-honour to the Queen.

CHAPTER V

SEPTEMBER—DECEMBER, 1838

Saturday, 1st September.—Spoke of my going to Bushey and Bagshot which I disliked; of my hating morning visits; of the habit I had when a little girl and visited my Aunts, of praising every thing, in order to get it, which made Lord Melbourne laugh very much. Speaking of red-legged partridges, he said to Lady Normanby, "Haven't you any of those red-legged fellows in Italy? I don't mean Cardinals," he said. Spoke to Lord M. of the former *very* severe etiquette in George III.'s and Queen Charlotte's time, which Lord M. said they introduced very much. The Duchess of Brunswick,¹ he said, used always to lay it to Queen Charlotte's account and used to say indignantly, "For a *petite Princess* to give herself airs, which my Mother and my Grandmother never did!" Lord M. said that all the *Ladies* dined with the King and Queen and Family, but no gentlemen, except perhaps on very particular occasions the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Lord Chamberlain. Spoke of the Princesses, their high spirits; of the King's not allowing them to marry; upon which Lord M. asked if they ever showed an inclination to marry; "For, that's a thing," he said, "which can't come of itself; you must either let people see one another, or you must negotiate."

Sunday, 2nd September.—I gave him Uncle Leopold's letter to read, and when he had done reading it, he

¹ Augusta, sister of George III. and daughter of Frederick Lewis, Prince of Wales, and his wife, Princess Augusta of Saxe-Gotha. She married Charles William Frederick, Duke of Brunswick.

said, "It is very kind." Lord M. said he had a letter from Lord John who will be down here on the 12th. Lord M. then said that here was this long Despatch from Durham, which he offered to read to me, and did read. But before he read it, he said that I must know that Canada originally belonged to the French and was only ceded to the English in 1760, when it was taken in an expedition under Wolfe; "A very daring enterprize," he said. Canada was then entirely French, and the British only came afterwards; they divided it into Upper and Lower Canada, and allowed the French to keep their particular rights and Institutions; and in a little while gave the country Executive and Legislative Assemblies like in England. Lord Melbourne explained this very clearly (and much better than I have done) and said a good deal more about it.

I asked Lord Melbourne who his paternal grandmother was; a Miss Coke of Melbourne, he replied; she was a great heiress, and through her came all that property. She was the daughter of Thomas Coke, Vice-Chamberlain to George 1st, who was the descendant of a famous Sir John Coke. Her brother died, and all the property came to her. Lord M. never saw her, as she died before his father could remember her; his father was born in 1745, and she died about 1751; "she was very pretty," he added. Spoke of Queen Caroline, and of the feeling for her; "I never saw anything like it in my life," said Lord M.; "it was very alarming; it even spread to the Troops." "George IV. never was popular," Lord M. said. And whatever Queen Caroline did, had no weight with the people, for, they said, it was all his fault at first. Lord M. continued, that it was quite madness his (George IV.) conduct to her; for if he had only separated from her, and let her alone, that wouldn't have signified; but he persecuted her, and "he cared as much about what she did, as if he had been very much in love with her," which certainly was very odd. "He (George IV.) was a clever man," Lord M. said, but he thinks that he never was honestly advised

about Queen Caroline ; though, he continued, he very often disliked advice that was contrary to his wishes, and resented it ; yet Lord M. thinks one can do anything with clever people, and if he had been properly talked to he might have listened.

We spoke of animals for a long time ; Lord M. said a horse was a most powerful and formidable enemy if he were to attack you ; and Lord M. said, "his neck is clothed in thunder" ; he considers a dog the most courageous animal, and the one that helps man the most ; and "he assists you, and will go through thick and thin with you."

Monday, 3rd September.—Lord Melbourne told me an anecdote of some Officers who saw a man on the banks of the Ganges, put there to die ; and one of them had a bottle of lavender water with him ; he put it to the man's lips, "who sucked it down" ; and having only been accustomed to water and a little rice, this spirit quite revived him, and the man recovered and was taken home. The next day he came to the Officer and said, "You must maintain me, for I've lost my Caste"—by being thus restored to life. Spoke of the custom of burning the Widows, which Lord M. said "is not a good custom" and is very nearly abandoned. Mr. Macaulay went to India in '33, as Counsel ; he is 40 years old, and a very clever man, Lord M. says.

Tuesday, 4th September.—I returned Lord Melbourne Munster's book which I had read through. I said I liked French books ; he observed, "They write shortly and clearly, and very concise, with a great deal of *netteté*." "The English books," he continued, "are so very long ; they are apt to be prosing, and one gets to read without attending, and not to know what it's all about," which is most true. He added that long books alarmed one. I said that I couldn't understand the German books ; Lord M. mentioned Schiller's *Thirty Years' War* (which he has read the Translation of) as a very good book. "They are apt to be misty and obscure, the Germans,—and cloudy," he said laughing.

Spoke of my disliking Ancient History; of my having read many dull books; of my having disliked learning formerly, and particularly Latin, and being naughty at that, and at my Bible-lessons; Lord M. said it was a good thing to know a little Latin, on account of the construction of English; Greek he thinks unnecessary for a woman, as there are many other things more necessary.

Lord M. said there was a collection of Theatrical Prints, of every sort of Actor and Actress that ever existed; and an account drawn up of each; collected by Sir Hilgrove Turner¹; "Not the most proper book in the World," said Lord M., "but very entertaining." Every sort of print of Nell Gwynn in every character; I asked if she was a celebrated Actress; in some characters, Lord M. replied. Lord M. said she was twice mentioned in Mme. de Sévigné's letters; Nell Gwynn was Mother to the Duke of St. Albans, and a Mrs. Waters to the Duke of Monmouth. Lord Melbourne and I looked at three books of curious, old, and very fine prints—portraits—which came from Cumberland Lodge and which seemed to interest Lord Melbourne. He made his clever observations about each; and thought there were (as there are) a great many Bishops and Monks. Lord Melbourne said George III., though accused of the contrary, was excessively fond of the Arts; he made the greater part of this splendid Collection. He had, Lord M. said, Canaletto and Zucarelli over here, to paint; spoke of portrait painting; of there being so few, or hardly any Portrait Painters now; Lord M. said that it was in human nature to have portraits painted, either from good or bad motives, from vanity or from affection.

Wednesday, 5th September.—I said how civil the Duke of Wellington always was to Uncle Leopold. I observed

¹ General Sir Tomkyns Hilgrove Turner, a distinguished soldier. He was present in 1801 at the capitulation of Alexandria. It fell to his lot to take charge of the famous Rosetta stone, part of the booty, which he conveyed to England. He was an antiquarian, and had a fair knowledge of the mysteries of ancient chivalry and of armour.



H.M. LEOPOLD I, KING OF THE BELGIANS.

From a portrait by Diez, 1841.

that I thought the Duke didn't like Uncle's going to Belgium, and Lord M. said: "I don't think he did; but he would be more studiously civil for that."

Saturday, 8th September.—We rode round Virginia Water. As I was galloping homewards, before we came to the Long Walk, on the grass and not very fast, Uncle left my side and I went on alone with Lord Melbourne, when something frightened Uxbridge, who was alarmed at being left without his second companion, and he swerved against Lord M.'s horse so much, that I came off; I fell on one side sitting, not a bit hurt or put out or frightened, but astonished and amused,—and was up, and laughing, before Col. Cavendish and one of the gentlemen, all greatly alarmed, could come near me, and said, "I'm not hurt." Lord M.'s horse shied away at the same moment mine did; *he* was much frightened and turned quite pale, kind, good man; he said, "Are you sure you're not hurt?" I instantly remounted and cantered home; Lord M. was rather alarmed again and thought Uxbridge was inclined to shy. I sat between Uncle and Lord Melbourne. Uncle talked much, and praised me for my behaviour during my *feat* of falling! Lord Melbourne said most kindly and anxiously, "Are you *really* not the worse?" He repeated this twice. We spoke of how it happened; he said he didn't *see* me fall, but *heard* me fall; he said it was fortunate his horse jumped away, else I might have been hurt.

Sunday, 9th September.—Sir George Villiers¹ came and sat down near us, when we were just at the end of the Album, looking at some Spanish drawings. Sir George told us that the Spaniards could drink a gallon of wine without stopping, pouring it down as if they didn't swallow; and he spoke of the extreme cruelty of Bull-fights.

Uncle and Sir George then spoke for a long while of Spain and its state, and Lord Melbourne and I listened, and occasionally joined in. Sir George said

¹ Sir George Villiers (afterwards Earl of Clarendon) was British Minister in Spain 1833-9.

it was quite dreadful the state of misery in which the poor Nuns and Monks were in who had been turned out of their Monasteries. He said he had supported some Nuns at Madrid, the youngest of whom was 85, and the eldest 91 ! and these poor people have lived in a convent since they were children, and now they turn them out and tell them they may have their liberty ! "It's cruel mockery," said Sir George. The Monks are likewise very badly off ; for, Lord M. observed, to men who have been accustomed to pass their lives in Prayer, to be told to dig, is very hard.

Monday, 10th September.—When Uncle came, he praised Sir C. Metcalfe,¹ and Lord Melbourne said, "He is a very able man ; the most able we have ; he is a very bold man—he introduced the freedom of the press in India, which was a very bold step ; but didn't do as much harm as we expected. He is extremely liberal, he was quite one of Lord William Bentinck's followers ; "William Bentinck is a very reckless man, who doesn't mind what follows if he thinks his reason good."

Wednesday, 12th September.—Uncle, Lord John, Lord Melbourne, and Lord Palmerston, spoke most agreeably about the Sessions of Parliament, and of anecdotes of Tierney.² They spoke of the fatigue of Sessions ; and Lord M. said it was less fatiguing to be obliged to attend than *not* to attend. Lord M. and Lord John said that formerly there used to be great debates always upon the Estimates, and Lord Palmerston remembers having had 13 nights of it ; and whenever a new person came in, who *ought* to have been there before, the Secretary at War had to explain the same thing over again, sometimes

¹ Sir Charles Metcalfe, an Indian administrator, who during an interregnum acted as Provisional Governor-General, during which time the heavy restrictions on the Indian press were removed. The Ministry would not give effect to the wish of the East India Company to continue him permanently in the office, but in 1839 he became Governor of Jamaica.

² George Tierney (1761–1830), a well-known Parliamentarian. He went into opposition to Pitt, and took pleasure in provoking that Minister to the use of language in debate which led to a duel on Putney Heath. Tierney took office under Addington and later under Canning.

3 or 4 times. Hume used, Lord John said, to make the same speech every year, and so they used to tell him he had been answered the year before. "And now," Lord M. said, "the Estimates are passed, without one word being said; which is very extraordinary." They spoke of Tierney, his speaking so well; and Lord M. said *he* thought him a very honest man; that he used always to say, "such a person told me so and so, by which you may judge that that is the opinion of all the people of that class and calibre"; "This appears to me sound reasoning," said Lord M., but that it had been very much condemned.

Thursday, 13th September.—Uncle Leopold and Lord M. then spoke about the Church; and Lord M. said, "My intention is to stand by the Established Church, but to keep the Church to her own principles as established at the Reformation." Then Lord M. said, "Upon the whole our Church is the best Church, the least meddling"; and speaking of Dissenters, Lord M. said, "The Church is still very strong." He spoke of the various changes which have taken place in it, and which he would have been content to have done without, but that "the cry for Reform came from the bosom of the Establishment itself."

Lord John spoke of Wilberforce's *Life*, which he is reading; and Lord M. said he disliked Wilberforce; though he felt it was ungrateful to say so, "as he liked me very much and was always wanting me to come more forward." Lord John said, in this *Life* there is a letter of Lord M.'s published, to him, about Lord John, which made Lord M. laugh very much. Lord John said, it is also mentioned that Canning had said that Lord Melbourne would have done very well as Speaker; Lord M. said he believed Wilberforce to be a good man, and to be actuated by good motives and opinions; "but they were very uncomfortable opinions for those who acted with him," and he used to leave his friends in difficulties.

Saturday, 15th September.—Lord Melbourne said he must get Lord Granville to speak to Louis Philippe about

this Mexican and Buenos Ayreian business, and explain to him the feeling there is here about it; Lord M. said, "Molé¹ is so touchy and so jealous"; that if there had been Broglie, or any other Minister, they would have accepted the mediation of England. I said to Lord Melbourne I had been rather surprised at Lord John's saying to me, that he should be very sorry to leave the Government, but thought if he was obliged to do so, that another could be found to replace him. Lord Melbourne said, "It's what he said to me; but I think he sees now that wouldn't do." Lord M. continued, that Lord John meant by that, that having lost a good deal of influence by the strong declaration he made in the early part of last Session, if he was to retire from the Government, another leader could be found, who hadn't pledged himself, and "who would regain the confidence of that party." "But I told him," continued Lord Melbourne, "that would never do; it would never do for me to give the Government a more radical character." Lord M. told him that he need make no declaration now, *before* Parliament meets, but wait till then, and see what course it will be best to pursue. Of course, Lord John don't like it if many of our friends vote against him; Lord Melbourne said *so did*, last session, principally belonging to the Government. "We must put it to them," said Lord Melbourne, "that if they do vote they'll most probably break up the Government; and then see what they'll do."

Spoke then about Canada, and Uncle said that the Boundary Question² would give us trouble, which Lord M. said it *already did*; of the number of Troops there—10,000—which Uncle said it would be good to keep

¹ Molé was Louis Philippe's Prime Minister at this time. Somewhat exacting demands having been made upon the Mexican nation by the French Government, followed by the despatch of a blockading squadron, there were protests against the interruption of commerce stimulated by English and American merchants. A naval force was consequently despatched to Mexico to protect British interests.

² For fifty years there had been difficulties between Great Britain and the State of Maine with respect to the frontier line of New Brunswick, and President Van Buren, in his message to Congress in December 1837, said that a settlement

there; Lord M. agreed in that, but said the difficulty would be great, the empire being so large, and so spread all over the world; "The question is," Lord M. said, "whether the country is up to it; whether the feeling of the country is such." And, in which Uncle agreed, "Such an Empire as this must go on; it can't stand still, else it goes back," he added. Lord Melbourne said the British Army at any time *never* amounted to 50,000 men. Then they spoke of Russia, and the difficulty to act against it. "She retires into inaccessibility," said Lord M., "into her snows and frosts."

Monday, 17th September.—Lord Melbourne told me that Uncle had spoken to him on a very delicate matter, namely, about maintaining our Alliance with France. Uncle, he said, told him that if Russia were to change her tone and to say to France, "Why, let us look to our own interests, let me go on with my conquests in my part of the Globe, and you may take Savoy and the Rhine and Belgium"—Louis Philippe would be rather impressed with it; and Uncle told Lord M. that "we ought to *ménager* Louis Philippe"; for, Lord M. agrees, that an Alliance with Russia would be most pernicious to us; and it seems by what Lord M. told me that the King (L.P.) is somewhat hurt and annoyed at Lord Palmerston, and much hurt at not having been mentioned in the Speech, Uncle told Lord M.; that is, it's not having been stated that we were on good terms with France. Lord M. said, "I must say I think that's as well got rid of; it's invidious to the others, and is always repeating the same Cuckoo song."

Tuesday, 18th September.—Lord Melbourne said, "I asked Palmerston if the King had spoken to him about his own affairs," and Lord P. said he had not, but that Van de Weyer had told him (Ld. P.) that he meant to do so, as he (the K.) thought it would appear odd

seemed as remote as at the time of signing the treaty of peace in 1783. This dispute led to serious consequences in January 1839, when some lawless citizens of the State of Maine invaded the debatable territory and made extensive fellings of timber.

if he didn't do so. Lord M. said he fancied Uncle was a little angry with Lord Palmerston; and "The King of the French is a good deal nettled at Palmerston"; Lord M. said Uncle told him that the Alliance with England wasn't very much liked in France, as they got nothing by it, and as we wouldn't let them take anything. "They say," continued Lord M., "'Austria has got a good deal, Prussia has got all along the Rhine, and Russia has got Poland, but we've got nothing.'" That consequently an Alliance with Russia would be very much liked. Lord M. thinks that even when France and England were so much opposed to each other, the French and English *never* hated each other.

Dressed in my Windsor uniform, and cap, like last year, and at a $\frac{1}{4}$ to 2 I mounted Leopold, and rode to the ground with Uncle *en grande tenue*, Lord Hill, the Duke of Wellington, Lord Portman, Lady Portman, Col. Fremantle, Capt. Hill (Aide-de-Camp to Lord Hill), Sir William Lumley,¹ Sir G. Quentin, all in uniform, Col. Cavendish and his son, the Page of Honour preceding us, and Lord Palmerston and Lord Cowper not in uniform, and Lord Falkland and Lord Torrington in the Windsor uniform, with an Escort. The others went in carriages. We received the Salute, and then cantered up to the Lines, when Leopold (I can't think why) went such a pace that I thought he was running away, but he went beautifully down the Lines and between the ranks, the drums beating and bands playing in his face; but when I cantered back to the Standard he played me the same trick, and I could hardly stop him; but he amply made up afterwards by standing like a lamb, throughout the Review, in which there was a good deal of firing. It was a very pretty Review, and the Troops did admirably; the Duke of Wellington said that it was as pretty a one as he had ever seen; I was stationed between Uncle and Lord Hill, the Duke being next Lord Hill. I expressed my satisfaction with the

¹ Gen. Sir William Lumley, G.C.B., son of the 4th Earl of Scarborough. He had been A.D.C. to the Duke of Wellington during the Peninsular War.

Troops to Sir James Hope¹ after the Review; and I rode up to the carriage in which Aunt Louise, &c., were, and the one in which Lady Cowper, &c., were, and to the one in which Daisy and my good Lord Melbourne were. We rode back to the Castle at a $\frac{1}{4}$ p. 4; put on my usual habit, and all the other gentlemen took off their uniforms, and at a $\frac{1}{4}$ to 5 I rode out with Uncle, Aunt, Mamma (who didn't ride the whole way), Lord Melbourne, the Duke of Wellington, Lord Cowper, Lord Palmerston, Lord and Lady Portman, Lord Torrington, Lady Forbes, Col. Cavendish, and the Page of Honour, and came home at $\frac{1}{2}$ p. 6. I rode Tartar, who went delightfully; it was a very pleasant though short ride. I rode the whole time between Uncle and Lord Melbourne. Spoke to Lord Melbourne of Leopold's running away a little bit, which he said he thought he observed; of Mamma's horse going so slowly, and Lord M. said, "We came a pretty good pace"; of my wishing to have a monkey, which Lord M. has a great horror of. I forgot to say that Lord M. showed me in the morning a letter from Lady Holland from Paris, who complains of his being "stubbornly silent." I told Lord Melbourne that Uncle had been somewhat surprised at the Duke of Wellington's having spoken, after dinner, against the French having Algiers²; Lord M. said, "The King is favourable to that; we dislike it very much here; and the Duke does particularly." I said Uncle said that the French *must* have a place to fight in, and go to. Lord M. said, "There is something in that." Spoke of Uncle's having said that the Life Guards and Household Troops ought to be stronger; Lord M. replied, "It would be as well," but that the expense would be so great; the King wants them to

¹ Sir James Archibald Hope (1785-1871), had been Assistant Adjutant-General in the Peninsula. From 1814 to 1839 he was Lieut.-Colonel in the 3rd Foot Guards (now Scots Guards).

² The African expedition of the French had been successful, and Constantine was captured, the Duc de Nemours being present. In the French Chamber, however, there was much difference of opinion upon the policy pursued by the French Ministers. The occupation of Algiers was not popular in France.

be 600 strong, whereas they are only 300. The Empire is so great, Lord M. said, that the Army must be spread all over the World; the whole Army altogether don't exceed 90,000 men, he told me. There are 15,000 men in Canada, and 15 or 16,000 in Ireland, which, as Lord M. says, isn't too much.

Friday, 21st September.—Spoke of eating and drinking, and dessert being unwholesome; as one eats it without *real* appetite; "and I am of that opinion," said Lord Melbourne; that he believed what one ate after dinner, and the few glasses of wine one drank, hurt one, and that if one was to get up before that it would be much better. "That's why I should like to get up with the ladies," said Lord Melbourne; "but it never has been the practice here." I said it was a very bad habit that of the gentlemen sitting in that way after dinner. He remembers, in the country, in the houses of fox-hunters, sitting till 11 or 12, and "coming in and finding all the women yawning." "I can't bear it," said Lord M., "though I *did* like it too, formerly. I believe the ladies like it; they like to have a little time to arrange their hair, and to talk." I said I didn't. He continued, "Of course the men were very much elevated by wine; but it tended to increase the gaiety of society, it produced diversity." "In every party," said Lord M., "there were generally 10 or 12 in that state." Lord M. said he never saw any body eat and drink so much as George IV.; in 1798 it was beyond everything; and his spirits and love of fun beyond everything, too. Of doing business. "All depends on the urgency of a thing," said Lord M. "If a thing is very urgent, you can always find time for it; but if a thing can be put off, why then you put it off."

Saturday, 22nd September.—Spoke for some time of church-going; and Lord Melbourne said he never used to go, after he left Eton; "My Father and Mother never went," he said. "People didn't use to go so much formerly; it wasn't the fashion; but it is a right thing to do." He said Uncle, *last* year, wanted me to go twice,

but Lord M. assured him (as it is) that that was unnecessary. George III., Lord M. believes, never went twice, though a strict man; and wasn't at all for all those Puritanical notions; and he's the person, Lord M. said, to look to in all these matters. Lord M. said it wasn't well to puzzle myself with controversies, but read the simple truths; the Psalms he thinks very difficult to understand, and he thinks very probably *not* rightly translated.

Sunday, 23rd September.—We spoke of the Duke of York, and when he died. "We didn't think he was dying," said Lord M., "he always thought he would outlive the King; for I know he told to people whom I know, what he intended to do." Lord M. said if he had become King, he *never* would have consented to the Catholic Emancipation, he would have sacrificed anything sooner than have done it. I observed George IV. disliked it, which Lord M. said he certainly did, but he did it. "He was a much cleverer man," said Lord M., "and saw the necessity of giving way."

Monday, 24th September.—Spoke of the Spaniards still carrying on the Slave Traffic under their own Flag; though we have a Treaty with them; Lord M. said, "We can prevent *that*, for we have the mutual right of search"; and he added also, "by the article of equipment," which means, he said, if a Vessel is found which can instantly be recognised as a Slaver by its peculiar equipments, bolts to fasten the Chains to, we can seize it. Lord M. said, Buxton's¹ notion of our taking country along the coast, and establishing Ports in order to prevent the Traffic, would never do, for, he said, if we told the French they mightn't conquer about Algiers, we couldn't say that, "if we are taking the Coast ourselves." Speaking of Mr. Buxton, Lord Melbourne said, "He certainly is a clever man and a rational man"; and a great follower and friend of Wilberforce's; Lord M. said he heard Wilberforce's

¹ Thomas Fowell Buxton (1786–1845), co-operated with Wilberforce in his exertions to abolish slavery. He was created a baronet in 1840. He married Hannah, daughter of John Gurney of Earlham.

Life was very entertaining; spoke of their (his two sons) having published things about people which they oughtn't to have done; Lord M. told me the letter of his they had published was in answer to one Wilberforce had written to him about Queen Caroline; "They shouldn't have published that letter," said Lord M., "for it was quite confidential." He was a very little man, Lord M. said, "with a pretty expression, benevolent." "He had a beautiful voice," said Lord M., "very melodious; he sang very well; but he gave that up; he didn't think that right; he sang Psalms; but he used to sing after supper."

Lord M. never saw Knighton. Spoke of George IV. with Lord M. for a long time; it is so interesting to talk with Lord M. on *all* subjects, and he knew George IV. so well, that it's peculiarly curious. He said George IV. seemed to be a Whig before he came to the Throne, but that "he did it from opposition and not from principle." "His principles all along were the contrary," Lord M. added some time afterwards. Lord M. did not see much of him latterly; Lord M. came into office for the first time in 1827, and entered Parliament in 1806. The Duchess of Devonshire and all those Whigs "were the leading people of fashion," said Lord M., "and he (Prince of Wales) naturally fell into all that." George IV.'s income as Prince of Wales, Lord M. said, was settled in 1783 at £50,000 a year, and he got into debt, and came to have his debts paid in '87. He had to pay his Establishment out of it; but, Lord M. said, an Establishment *then* didn't cost near so much as it does *now*. Lord M. said, "The Prince of Wales is born Duke of Cornwall; he isn't made, but is born so," and the revenue is his. "It vests in the Sovereign now," he continued, "as there is no Prince of Wales." George III. educated George IV. out of this. Lord M. continued, that he thinks George III. might have managed George IV. better, for that the latter was very much afraid of his Father, and yet very fond of him.

Tuesday, 25th September.—Spoke to Lord Melbourne

of his being at Eton, which he liked pretty well, but home much better; of his being fagged, but never a *regular* *fag*. I asked him if the boys ill-treated him much. "Not much," he replied; "they beat me sometimes, but that was to be expected." He didn't like fighting much, particularly with big boys. "I never stood to be licked." "I remember going out to fight with a boy once," he continued, "and after the first round I gave it up; he was a tall boy and had much longer arms and pounded me amazingly; and I saw I never could beat him; I stood and reflected a little, and *thought* to myself, and then gave it up; I thought that one of the most prudent acts, but I was reckoned very dastardly for it." This showed already his good sense, and gentle temper. Spoke of there never being quite 500 boys at Eton; of Harrow, where Lord Palmerston was.

Wednesday, 26th September.—Of Spain, affairs looking so very ill there. Lord M. said Lord Palmerston is still sanguine, and attributes most of the bad success of the Spanish Government to France; for that the Queen Regent does not wish to have an *Exaltado* Government for fear of displeasing Louis Philippe. "But I'm afraid," said Lord Palmerston, "that neither *Exaltado* or *Moderado* have any talent"; and he added what a bad thing it was for the country to have a succession of Governments, one weaker than the other. Spoke of the length of time that this unhappy state of affairs has been going on; Ferdinand died in '33, and the Quadruple Treaty¹ was concluded in '34; spoke of the misfortune of Don Carlos's having escaped from here, which nobody thought he would have had the courage and determination to do. "Nothing so bad," said Lord M., "as overrating the weakness of an enemy." Spoke of Louis Philippe's *fear* of Spain. Lord M. said he couldn't bear to take an active

¹ The Quadruple Alliance of 1834 was signed by England, France, Spain, and Portugal. It confirmed Dona Maria on the throne of Portugal, which she had gained by the aid of English troops in opposition to her usurping Uncle Miguel. This treaty was Palmerston's answer to that of Münchengratz, by which Russia, Prussia, and Austria had agreed to support one another against the liberalizing tendencies resulting from the revolutions of 1830.

part in the affairs there, "as he considers it always to have been the grave of French Armies,—as it *has been*"; and then he fears any revolution taking place there, as that would affect him. . . . Spoke of the impious and dreadful things the French now introduced upon the stage, whereas formerly, Lord M. said, they never killed any body on the stage, and accused us of doing so; and Lord M. said, he believed that in none of Racine's or Corneille's Tragedies, anybody was ever killed on the stage. Spoke of these French Tragedies which Lord Melbourne admires very much; and though he says that Corneille had the most power, I'm glad he agrees with me in admiring Racine the most, and he said "that for beauty of feeling and taste" he thought there was nothing like Racine; spoke of Voltaire's *Zaïre* and *Semiramis*; he said that Voltaire copied a good deal from the English, "like a great Master he infused the same spirit," without taking the same words. *Zaïre* was very like *Othello*, and *Semiramis* very like *Hamlet*, he said.

Thursday, 27th September.—Spoke of the Duchesse de Broglie, who, Lord M. said, spoke English like any English person, and was very pretty. He knew her Mother, Mme. de Staël, very well, when she was here in '14; she was very ugly, he said; though she had fine eyes; she had a great deal of folly and showing off, but still, Lord M. said, "She was a very superior woman." Napoleon couldn't bear her, nor she him, he said; and Lord M. told me the famous anecdote; when she was making a long discourse to Napoléon, he abruptly said, "Est-ce que vous nourrissez vos enfants?" Then, Lord Melbourne said, she had been great friends with Talleyrand, and then broke with him, and he told me the following funny anecdote, which is said to have given rise to the Quarrel. Mme. de Staël and Talleyrand and Mme. de Souza (Flahaut's Mother) were all in a boat together, and Mme. de Staël said it would be the proof of love to save a person in danger; and she asked which of the two he (T.) would save; he said to her, "Madame, vous, qui savez tout, savez nager."

Friday, 28th September.—Spoke of Pozzo; "He can't bear to be contradicted," said Lord Melbourne; and that "you must listen to him, and then just put in what you have to say," saying, There's a good deal in that, *but*—you must admit so and so. Spoke of Lady Holland; "She has no religion, but she has every sort of superstition," said Lord M. I asked if she disbelieved in religion; he said she did. How unhappy must this be in the end, for a person, "in the hour of death and in the day of judgment," when reliance on an all-powerful God and an all-merciful Redeemer is such a balm, and such a consolation! Lord M. spoke of the gallant behaviour of a girl called Grace Darling, the daughter of a man who takes care of a lighthouse on the Northumberland coast; a steamer was lately blown up there, and a number of people perished and this girl went out in a boat by herself and saved nine people.¹ Spoke of the book Lady Holland had sent him, which led us to speak of her fear of dying, which Lord Melbourne said was so very great, and haunted her night and day, though she had *no* apprehension as to what was to become of her hereafter. I said I thought people who didn't believe in religion had always more fear of death. "They generally have," Lord M. replied. Lord M. don't think there is such a total disregard of religion in France as there is said to be; though he thinks France is the country in which there is the *greatest* disregard for religion; I said I thought England was the one in which there was the most feeling *for* it,—in which Lord M. agreed; he don't like, he said, those wild notions which have sprung up lately in some parts of Germany; "I like what is tranquil and stable," he added.

Saturday, 29th September.—Lord M. told me Lord Clifford² had been with him a long time, so long that he

¹ Grace Darling was twenty-three years old, the daughter of the lighthouse keeper on the Farne Islands. In point of fact the girl was not alone in the boat, but helped her father to row it. She was granted a gold medal and £50 by the Treasury; but a sum of £750 was raised for her. In return she was obliged to cut off nearly all her hair, as tokens of remembrance, for her admirers. She died of consumption in 1842.

² Hugh Charles, seventh Lord Clifford of Chudleigh (1790-1858), a supporter

thought he never would go. He wants us, Lord M. said, to establish a communication with the Pope, and to settle with him about sending Priests to India, for that all the Catholics there were in the hands of the Portuguese Priests,¹ who were very depraved and taught everything that was bad; he wants us to repeal the Law, which renders it criminal to have any thing to do with the Pope, and have an Ambassador at Rome, which Lord M. thinks he would like to be himself; Lord M. said it certainly was a great inconvenience to be unable to have any communication with the Pope, who was still a great man in Europe; (there has been no communication since James II.'s time).² "And it would be a very good thing to repeal that law, but it wouldn't do to try in this country"; that the feeling was still so great.

Sunday, 2nd October.—Spoke of Lady Lyttelton, who Lord M. said wasn't very young when she married, about 23. I said I thought 23 quite young enough to marry; "So do I," said Lord M., "but girls begin to be nervous when they are past 19," and think they'll never marry if "they are turned 20." We spoke of Eton, the different forms. Lord M. said, "I was a deuced good scholar when I entered the 5th form; but I went a very bad one into the sixth." Spoke of the Masters, and its being such dreadful work to have to look over 60 or 70 exercises; said nothing the Masters used to dislike so much as when the boys used to come with an exercise of perhaps 50 or 60 Iambics, to look over; "My tutor used to complain of that," said Lord M. "He said, 'Why do you bring me this so late at night?'" He spoke of a very odd boy of the name of Harry Drury, who was at school with him, and who, in order to plague his Master, used of Lord Melbourne's Government. A Roman Catholic, he ultimately resided almost entirely in Italy.

¹ From Goa.

² In James II.'s time Roger Palmer, Earl of Castlemaine, husband of Barbara Palmer, was sent on a mission to reconcile England to the Vatican. On this he was subsequently indicted, and was one of the victims of Titus Oates. He defended himself with spirit, and was acquitted. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, the Government of Mr. Gladstone sent Sir George Errington, M.P., on a mission to Pope Leo XIII.

to pick out all the oddest and most "cramped words" from Cicero, and put them into his exercises, and then puzzle his Master, who asked, 'What authority have you for this?' 'Cicero,' he answered then." Lord M. said, "I never felt so lowered as when I came back (home) and had no power"; for, Lord M. said, that a head boy has immense power; a look of his is like the law to another boy, who would never think of disobeying; and many tyrannize amazingly, he said. Spoke of the different ways of fagging, though he never was, or had, any particular regular fag. There were 24 boys generally in the Upper School, he said. His brother Frederick went to Eton when he was about eight, and so did his brother George. . . .

Thursday, 4th October.—Lord Melbourne said Esterhazy told him that the late King of Naples¹ was a coward, and he told him, to prove it, that he went out shooting one day, and a wild boar came out after him, and he climbed up a tree and said, "Non è paura ma antipatia naturale." Now Lord M. don't think—which is true—that this is a proof of cowardice. . . .

Friday, 5th October.—Spoke of my having read in Walpole about George II.'s death; of his fondness for Sir Robert, of his hunting in Richmond Park, and then dining with Sir Robert at the Lodge; of his always talking in Latin with Sir Robert. Lord Melbourne said when he (Ld. M.) was at Glasgow, they always were examined, questioned, and lectured, in Latin; and "we answered in Latin." He went to Glasgow immediately after he left Cambridge. Asked him if it was his own wish or if he was sent there. Lord M. replied, "It was a good deal my own wish, but it was very much promoted by the Duke of Bedford and Lord Lauderdale, who were great friends of ours; Francis, Duke of Bedford." Lord Melbourne said there is "more study" there; "less mathematics and more politics." Lord M. said there were "very few gentlemen" there, *then*, but much fewer still *now*, as the Universities were very

¹ Francis I., "King of the Two Sicilies," 1825-30.

much gone off now, and were then famous for the people at the head of them, who were of the greatest eminence. Lord Palmerston, Lord Lansdowne, Lord John Russell, and Dugald Stuart, were all at Edinburgh, he said. Lord Kinnaird was at Glasgow.

Lord Melbourne looked at a picture of Queen Charlotte which was put up in the drawing-room on trial, and said she was very plain and small, "Well made and a good figure, though she had had many children; and very civil; a good manner." Lady Lyttelton asked leave to put on spectacles for working; and Lord M. said, her asking leave showed she understood *etiquette*, for he said formerly nobody was allowed to come to Court in spectacles, or use glasses; that Mr. Burke, when he was first presented at Court, was told he must take off his spectacles; and that Lord M. said he remembered as long as anything, that no one (man) was allowed to wear gloves at Court.¹ I praised Lady Lyttelton and said she was such a nice person; in which Lord M. quite agreed; Lord M. said he knew her before her marriage, which took place in 1810, he thinks; (she came out he thinks in 1804, the same year as his sister did, and they are just the same age), but he didn't know her, he said, "before I married." Spoke of her feeling Lord Lyttelton's death much, of Lord Lyttelton's being younger than Lord Melbourne, which I should never have believed; "he was a good man, but an odd man"; Lord M. said it was an old and distinguished name; that there had been one distinguished for his great piety and another for great profligacy, who was called "the wicked Lord Lyttelton."²

Saturday, 6th October.—Told Lord M. that Lehzen and I had been disputing about the right the Sovereign had

¹ These customs have never been abandoned, and still obtain.

² Thomas, 2nd Baron Lyttelton (1744-79), known as "the wicked Lord Lyttelton," succeeded his father George, who, after holding the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer, was made a peer in 1737. The first Lord was the author of several books, including *A Monody to the Memory of a Lady lately Deceased*, *Dialogues of the Dead*, and a *Life of Henry II.*, which was reviewed by Gibbon. His wicked son was the author of two novels, and is one of the persons to whom the *Letters of Junius* are attributed.

here, of preventing any of the Royal Family marrying *after* they were of age, and that they must all ask his or her leave; Lehzen maintained that she had seen in Blackstone that after they were of age they might marry any Prince or Princess—not a *subject*—without the Sovereign's leave.¹ Lord M. said he was almost certain they could not, "but one can never be quite sure," and that we had best ask the Chancellor about it; and he believes the Princess Charlotte could *not* have married Uncle if she was of age, without her Father's permission. The Prince or Princess wishing to marry give notice to the Privy Council of their intention, and if it isn't objected to for a year, it may take place. Spoke of Charles I.'s intended marriage to the Infanta of Spain, which Lord M. said "was extremely distasteful to the nation," as they wished a Protestant Princess, and this marriage was broken off by the Duke of Buckingham, who quarrelled with Cardinal Olivarez, and they offended the Spanish Court amazingly; Buckingham then took Charles I. back by Paris, where he formed the match with Henrietta Maria, "which was not half so much" disliked as the other, though, Lord Melbourne said, the Country always suspected Charles when he asked for money to defend the Elector Palatine, that he would use it in France against the Protestants; they urged him, Lord M. said, to assist the Elector Palatine, and then would give him no money; "they always suspected him of having a leaning for the Roman Catholic Religion, and I supposed he had," continued Lord M. James I., Lord M. said, was far too proud to think of "marrying his son to a little German Princess," and there were

¹ By the Royal Marriage Act, 1772, no descendant of George II. (other than the issue of Princesses married into foreign families) can marry without the Sovereign's consent, signified under the Great Seal and declared in Council. A marriage without that consent is void, and certain penalties attach to persons present or assisting at it. But any such descendant, if over *twenty-five*, may, after *one year's* notice to the Privy Council, marry without the Sovereign's consent, unless *both Houses* of Parliament shall, before the year is out, express disapproval of the proposed marriage. Two points are noticeable here: 1st, no distinction is drawn between a marriage with a subject and one with a person of royal blood; 2ndly, a marriage in defiance of the Act is void, not merely "morganatic."

hardly any Protestant Kings then ; and *he* wished a great match. Spoke of Catherine of Braganza, "who was a quiet inoffensive woman" ; Anne Hyde, he said, became Roman Catholic when she married James II. At 8 we dined. I sat between the Lord Chancellor and Lord Melbourne. I asked the Chancellor if *any one* of the Royal Family, when of age, could marry any body without my leave ? He replied, "*Certainly not.*" I turned to Lord Melbourne and told him he was quite right. Spoke of its being rather severe. I said fortunately there was no law which gave the Sovereign the power to *make* any of them *marry by force*.

Sunday, 7th October.—"We've had a long sit of it," Lord Melbourne said to me. And he said they had agreed that Sir J. Hobhouse should write to Lord Auckland, that *no* expedition should be sent into Persia (which they hope and are almost certain Lord Auckland has *not* done), but to strengthen and protect our Indian Possession on the side of Afghanistan and Cabul ; and that Lord Palmerston should write a Despatch to Pozzo strongly remonstrating with Russia ; Lord M. said these were the principal points of the conversation ; and that they were "all for strong measures." Asked him if Lord John or *he* (Ld. M.) should sit next to me at dinner ; and he said, "Oh ! Lord John !" which I was very sorry for, though Lord John is an agreeable man. Said it surprised people (foreigners) that the *Prime Minister* should not take precedence ; Lord M. said that many Prime Ministers had had no rank at all ; Pitt, he said, was only the Hon. William Pitt.¹

Tuesday, 9th October.—Spoke to Lord Melbourne of Villiers' making excuses in his letter to Lord Palmerston for staying so long at Paris ; of Louis Philippe having told Villiers, Upon no account would he ever marry any of his sons to the little Queen of Spain, not that he despised the Crown of Spain, far from it, but that he knew the jealousy it would excite ; at the same time he

¹ The office of Prime Minister was given high precedence by King Edward VII. The holder ranks after the Archbishop of York and before Dukes (other than Royal)

said he never would permit an Austrian Prince to marry her, but wished that Don Francisco's eldest son should, to which Villiers said there were great difficulties. Spoke of Lady Ashley; its being so difficult to get a match just as one likes; of Frederick Robinson's love of Lady Ashley; "It's the violent feeling of a boy, which often wears off; but which kills others," he said. He then told me a story of C. Fox's¹ to prove the violence of feeling. Charles Fox, he said, "was engaged to marry Lady Erroll and was excessively in love with her"; well, he went abroad (to Malta, I think), and one day somebody said, "Oh! I see" (by the papers) "one of the Fitzclarences is married." He felt his heart coming to his mouth, and he said, "Which is it?" "Oh! I'm sure I don't remember," said the man. "Is it Sophy?"² "No." "Is it Mary?" "No." So at last he gulped out, "Is it Eliza?" "Yes, it's Eliza, she is married to Lord Erroll." And he fell down to the ground as if he had been shot. They had told him nothing of it. He afterwards came home and married Mary.

Wednesday, 10th October.—Shewed Lord M. a very pretty letter which I had got from Ferdinand in the morning, giving an account of George Cambridge's visit to Lisbon, but his incognito was so strict (quite absurdly so) that it was with great difficulty they persuaded him to dine with them. "It's a lively letter," Lord Melbourne said. Spoke of George travelling under the name of Earl of Culloden (*Baron, not Earl*, I see by the Peerage); which led us to speak for some time of all the Titles borne by Members of the Royal Family; York, Clarence, and the *Earl* of Cambridge, are old royal titles; but the Earldoms of Sussex and Cumberland were never borne by any of the *Royal* Family; the last Earl of Sussex, Lord M. thinks, was a great favourite of Queen Elizabeth's; spoke of Henry VII's descendants, &c.; and of how confused all those descendants of my Ancestors are;

¹ General Charles Richard Fox, Receiver-General of the Duchy of Lancaster. Married Lady Mary Fitzclarence.

² Sophia Lady De L'Isle. See *ante*.

Lord M. said it was all very well explained by Hallam ; spoke of Walpole, his quarrels with Pulteney, who Lord Melbourne said was afterwards Lord Bath, and a very rich man ; Sir Richard Sutton, he said, *now* possesses his estate. Lord M. said it was a most extraordinary thing, that after driving Walpole from the Ministry, Pulteney would accept no office. "He was a worthless man," Lord M. said. Said I thought Walpole occasionally gave way to low feelings of revenge and party ; Lord M. said, "He was a good man and a kind-hearted man, but his fault was that of lowering the country, and pursuing rather a *low* policy, of every man having his price." Speaking of learning, and Latin, Lord M. asked me if the Dean ever made me do Latin Exercises, which I said he did, but *no* Latin Verses, which I protested against. Made Lord M. laugh by an account of the Dean's horror at my false quantities ; and spoke of the anecdote of Lord North's awaking on hearing Burke say *Vēctīgal*, and solemnly saying *Vectīgal* and going to sleep again ; said I began with Eutropius, then with Cæsar's Commentaries, which Lord M. said are very hard, and too hard for a beginner ; then read part of *Virgil*, also hard, part of *Ovid*, which he says is very fine but very hard, and part of *Horace*. Said I thought I had benefited but little by what I had learnt, for that I could not construe any quotation ; but Lord M. said, "Oh ! yes you have" (benefited). "You know that there are such books and such authors, and what they are about."

Thursday, 11th October.—Lord M. said he believed that much dislike for music arose from want of attention to it ; "I'm sure that's the case with me" ; said I thought music was a talent and a gift ; he said, "It is often in a person, and can be awakened." Asked if he ever *drew* ; he replied, never, though always fond of pictures and understands them ; "That again can be taught," he said. He agrees with me that there is too much of Wilberforce's *own* meditations in his life ; spoke of W.'s dislike or rather, as Lord M. said, *pity*, for Fox, whom he considered a fallen person ; speaking of W., Lord M. said,

"There evidently was a great struggle in him ; the Devil had a good tussle with him."

Saturday, 13th October.—Spoke of the dulness of the great dinners at St. James's and their awkwardness before dinner ; told him Aunt Louisa told me how dull they were at Brussels ; after dinner *she* and all the women sitting, and the King and all the men standing ; which Lord M. said was a great convenience to Uncle, but must tire some of the old men a good deal. "The Queen of the Belgians," Lord M. said, "doesn't seem to me to be like a French person, shy, and rather more of an English character." Showed Lord M. two small miniatures I have of George III. and Queen Charlotte, in bracelets ; spoke of their children being handsome ; said the Princess of Wales (George III.'s Mother) I believed had been good-looking ; he said James I. and his Wife, from whom we all come, had been very ugly ; Charles I., a fine head ; Charles II., very ugly ; James II. not so, when young ; "Queen Mary" (his daughter) "was the most beautiful woman in Europe," Lord M. said. Queen Anne, plain and large, but he observed having "repeated children." Her Mother, Anne Hyde, of whom he has a picture at Melbourne, was ill-looking ; he has also a picture of the Duke of Gloucester, Charles I.'s son. Lord Ashley said he had been to see Sir J. Wyattville, who showed him a remonstrance from Queen Elizabeth's Maids of Honour, which had been found amongst some old papers ; which showed the uncouthness of those times ; they lived all in one room, which was separated from the gentlemen by a partition which didn't reach to the Ceiling, and they begged it might be made to reach the Ceiling, as the gentlemen climbed up and looked over the other side. This made us all laugh very much, particularly Lord M., who said, "It was very right feeling of the Maids of Honour."

Sunday, 14th October.—Spoke of Lord Ashley's strictness ; Lord M. said, he told him the other day that nothing would ever make him fight a Duel ; he (Ld. A.) was very much bullied by a man who said he would post

him for refusing to fight; upon which Lord Ashley said, "You need not give yourself the trouble, I will do so myself, I've no objection to let the world know I'll never fight a Duel." At the same time Lord Ashley says, "I must take great care not to give offence, as I refuse to give satisfaction." Lord M. said to him, "But what would you do *now*, if you were betrayed into a passion?" "Why, make an apology"; and Lord M. said, "That's the best way and the right way." Spoke of Wilberforce's piety being quite sincere; and Lord M. said, "It was of a very mild character"; that his greatest friend, William Smith, was a Unitarian whom he pitied but loved; Lord M. said, "It is very difficult to be a Unitarian according to the Scriptures"; for, Lord M. said, they deny "the atonement of Christ"; with respect "to the nature of Christ," Lord M. said, "there may be a question, but how they do without the atonement I don't know." He said, they say the New Testament was added and didn't belong to the Bible; this, Lord M. said, is a very dangerous doctrine. Spoke of Evans' book on the Sects,¹ which Lord M. said "is a very clever little book." Lord M. said the Wesleyan Methodists were the most numerous Sect now; that they differed but little from the Established Church, but were followers of Arminius and believed more *in works*, whereas the Calvinists do *in faith alone*; the latter, I said, was highly dangerous, for then some might say that, as they had faith, it did not signify how wicked they were; Lord M. said "that's *antinomianism*"; that the Calvinists didn't go so far, but said if there was true faith there could be no wicked works; I said one could get oneself quite puzzled by thinking too much about these matters, and that I thought it wrong to do so; Lord M. quite agreed with me, and said, "It is best to believe what is in the Scriptures without considering *what* Christ's nature was, for that isn't comprehensible;

¹ *A Sketch of the Denominations of the Christian World*, by Dr. John Evans, a Baptist minister. The book had reached its fifteenth edition by the time of the author's death in 1827.

the Trinity isn't comprehensible." This is all just as *I* feel; I know I have written at great length, more perhaps than I ought, but the conversation was such an interesting one, and Lord M.'s feeling so *right, just, and enlightened*, that I felt I couldn't do otherwise.

Spoke of when Henry VI. was born. Lord Conyngham spoke of his boy being too much worked at Eton. Lord M. said if there was too much work, the only way was not to do it; but he owned they were flogged for it; he was sometimes flogged at Eton, he told me, and that it had always an amazing effect on him. Sir J. Herschel¹ sat near Lord Melbourne who talked to him a good deal, which *I* did not profit by, as much as I ought, for I was *stupid*. Lord M. said to me, "He's monstrously frightened," which he seemed to be; for Lord M. had great difficulty in persuading him to sit still; he guessed his age—40. Lord M. spoke to Sir J. Herschel about new discoveries, and he (Ld. M.) said, "I don't mind your discovering stars, if you don't discover men."

Tuesday, 16th October.—George IV., Lord M. said, "was very fond of his father, and monstrously afraid of him." Spoke of a letter which Lord M. said George IV. wrote to Queen Caroline, when he separated from her, in which he said, "Love and affection weren't in their power," but that he hoped civility would remain between them; and that there was no tie left between them. This he sent her by Lord Cholmondeley. Spoke of George III.'s blindness; my fear for my eyes²; George III. had no private Secretary till he grew blind, and Lord M. mentioned an instance of how much he used to write.

Wednesday, 17th October.—Spoke of Mr. Pitt's sister, Lady Eliot,³ who died and whom Wilberforce mentions; one of his (Pitt's) sisters⁴ was Lord Stanhope's Mother,

¹ He had discovered η Argus in the previous year.

² The Queen had no cause to fear. She retained her powers of vision far beyond the normal period.

³ Lady Harriet Pitt married Edward James Eliot, M.P., son of the first Lord Eliot.

⁴ Lady Hester Pitt married Charles, third Earl Stanhope, and died before his succession to the peerage, but there was no son by this marriage. The fourth

Lord M. said, and he says Lord Stanhope certainly speaks very like Pitt. "His manner, his voice, and the form of his sentences are the same, but with this difference between them:—when Mr. Pitt spoke, no one breathed, or thought when it would end, whereas you can't listen to Lord Stanhope for two sentences without being tired to death; that's the difference between them," said Lord M.

Friday, 19th October.—Said, I feared I teased him often so much by asking him so many questions, and often I feared very indiscreet ones. "Oh! never," he replied most kindly, and continued in such a warm affectionate manner, "You *must* ask questions, it's your right, and it's my duty to answer you; pray don't ever think that; any thing but that." I said he was too kind, for that I feared I was so young and often inconsiderate. I said I was very sorry he went; "I'm very sorry, too," he replied, and that I should miss him very much in my rides. Spoke of my dislike to go to Brighton; and he said, "I wouldn't go if I didn't like it." Said, as I had a Palace there I thought it was necessary I should go; he said not at all, for that it was only a fancy of George IV.'s to go there, nobody ever went there before. Said I thought it would vex the people if I didn't.¹

Friday, 26th October.—After dinner I showed Lord Melbourne some lithographs, Aunt Louise sent me, of Soult,² Talleyrand,³ Fitzjames,⁴ Benjamin Constant.⁵

Earl Stanhope's mother was the only daughter of the Hon. Henry Grenville, Governor of Barbadoes.

¹ The Pavilion was sold to the town of Brighton in 1849.

² Marshal Soult, Duke of Dalmatia, had been the most popular figure at the Queen's Coronation a few months before. He was now 69, but hale and vigorous. He lived another thirteen years. See *ante*, July 9, 1838.

³ Talleyrand had died in the preceding month of May, reconciled to the Church of which he had been a prelate, after a kaleidoscopic interlude of forty-seven years. At the age of eighty, only four years before his death, he had been the most conspicuous ornament of King William's Court, to which he was accredited Ambassador by the son of Egalité. See *ante*, May 21, 1838.

⁴ The Duc de Fitzjames married the sister of Mademoiselle Montijo, afterwards Empress of the French.

⁵ Benjamin Constant had died in 1830, aged sixty-three. His psychological novel *Adolphe*, a new departure in introspective literature, had earned for him

Talked of Marie's¹ illness ; of the Orleans being strong till this generation ; Louis Philippe's Mother² was heiress to the Duc de Penthièvre, Lord M. said, and very rich ; talked of Louis XIV. being very strong, and so was his brother. The Regent Orleans was also very strong, but died from indulgence ; he married one of Louis XIV.'s natural daughters ; Lord M. thought Mdle. de Blois,³ but was not quite sure. The Prince of Orange, father of our William III., wished to marry her, Lord M. said, but Louis XIV. wouldn't allow it, and William said, " Well, I've tried to have him as a friend, but as I can't do that, I must try what I can do with him as an enemy." The Duchess of Orleans was very proud, Lord M. said, and St. Simon used to call her " Madame Lucifer."

Sunday, 28th October.—" Don't you feel uneasy at the movement of these two great armies ?" he said ; I replied it was very serious, and asked him if he was ; he said not, but " It is a great crisis ; it is a stroke for the Mastery of Central Asia."⁴ These armies, he said, are gone to Candahar and Cabool ; the danger, Lord M. said, is that it may convulse the Mahrattas behind. Talked of the

some fame. His inexplicable attachment to Madame de Staël, and his more easily comprehended infatuation for Madame Récamier, obtained for him a great notoriety. He, in company with many other distinguished Frenchmen of that era, oscillated in his allegiance to political principle, and while his pamphleteering led him into many duels, he fought his last one, as a cripple, seated in a chair.

¹ Wife of Duke Alexander of Würtemberg.

² Louise Marie Adelaide de Bourbon, daughter of the Duc de Penthièvre. He was descended from the Comte de Toulouse, natural son of Louis XIV. and Madame de Montespan.

³ Mademoiselle de Blois was a sister of the Comte de Toulouse. Louis Philippe was thus doubly descended from Louis XIV. and Madame de Montespan.

⁴ Some years earlier Dost Mohammed, having usurped the throne of Afghanistan, drove the Ameer, Shah Sooja, into exile. Lord Auckland, the Governor-General, sent Captain Burnes (who had been presented to the Queen before her accession and had described to her many of his adventures : see December 26, 1833) on a mission to Cabul. The Ameer received him civilly, but afterwards somewhat unceremoniously dismissed him. Accordingly Lord Auckland decided on the restoration of Shah Sooja, and in the autumn of this year published a proclamation dethroning Dost Mohammed. A military expedition was forthwith sent across the frontier.

siege of Herat being raised; "If the Shah has raised the siege, then it'll all subside," he said; that if this was the case, it was all owing to the brave and heroic defence of the Afghans; and he quite agrees with McNeill that we ought to assist them and to stand by our friends; Lord M. says Lord Auckland has done quite right in moving this army; "It's in fact," he said, "revolutionising Cabool and Candahar"; upsetting the present Chiefs, and putting on the Throne whoever we choose and whoever may be friendly to us. It may perhaps, if the siege of Herat is raised, be brought to an accommodation, he says. The army Lord Auckland has put under arms consists of 25,000 men; and Runjeet Singh,¹ Lord M. said, on whom we depend, but who is old, has agreed to furnish 50,000; in all 75,000 men; but Lord M. said an Indian army of 75,000 men is in fact one of 500,000; for that each person has such numbers of servants with them. Talked of boys who go to Eton getting money. Lord M. said he generally got 9 or 10 guineas after each Holidays, to go to Eton with; "Besides that, my father told the old man at the Inn, Kendal, to give me $\frac{1}{2}$ a Crown every Monday and every Thursday; that's five shillings a week," Lord M. said, which he thought a very odd way of giving it, quite independent of the Tutor or any body. He generally spent it at the Pastry Cooks, and later too to Dog-fighters, rabbit-catchers, and boatmen.

Monday, 29th October.—Lady Lyttelton, who is a most agreeable amiable woman, talked to me a good deal of Lady Caroline Lamb, who was her 1st Cousin; she had a very pretty slight figure, but very red hair, and her face a little *en beau* like Lady Mary Stopford. She was amazingly in love with Lord M., which, handsome and agreeable as he was, was no wonder, but acted the gentleman's part

¹ Ranjit Singh (1780-1839). "The Lion of the Punjab," strong-willed and energetic, uneducated but acute, he created for himself a kingdom out of incongruous elements, and maintained his authority unchallenged. He is said to have preferred the "Koh-i-noor" diamond to all his conquests. This was the penultimate year of his life. After his death in 1839, the Punjab was plunged for years into a state of anarchy, from which it was rescued by British annexation in 1849.

and told him of her passion ; he could not marry her as long as his eldest brother lived, but when he died he married her.

Tuesday, 6th November.—Talked to him of a report (which I fear is quite true) of ——'s boy, who is at Eton, having stolen some money ; "It is better to treat it as a childish trick," he said ; "and I should speak seriously to the Boy." This is very true ; when he was there a boy stole a pair of buckles, and is now grown up, a very gentlemanly man, but it disgraced him for the time. Said, I heard this boy hadn't had enough money ; if a boy couldn't pay a Pastry Cook's bill any more, the boy kept away from the shop, Lord M. said, a very good thing, and was dunned whenever he came near it. Talked of boys telling lies whenever they had done wrong at school, which wasn't considered wrong, and which Lord M. said was the same thing as pleading not guilty at the Bar, which *everyone* would do. Lord M. talked to Alava¹ of a person of the name of Montrond,² whom Louis Philippe gives money to, to gather news for him ; he is a man of bad character, Lord M. said ; was a great friend of Talleyrand's, and of Lady Holland's ; he has had several fits, and Lord M. said, "When he had one of these fits one day, and was grasping the-ground, Talleyrand who stood by him said, 'Il veut absolument descendre.'"

Thursday, 15th November.—Lord M. looked at 2 Annuals, talked of the Author of Junius never being known ; and Lord Holland told us a curious story of what happened in Spain to (he thinks) Philip IV. ; whenever he sat down to dinner he found a sheet of

¹ Don Miguel de Alava (1770-1843). One of the many modern soldiers of distinction who, like Sir Evelyn Wood and Sir John French, began his career as a sea-officer. Alava was present at Trafalgar, in the Spanish flagship, but this did not hinder him from becoming A.D.C. to the Duke of Wellington in the Peninsula and serving on the Duke's staff at Waterloo. He was Spanish Ambassador in London in 1834. He was one of the few distinguished men during the tempestuous years of the Napoleonic era, who retired into exile from sheer weariness of taking new oaths of allegiance.

² Protégé of Talleyrand, and notorious roué. He married the Duchesse de Fleury. He died in the odour of sanctity.

satirical verses about his Court, in his napkin, and this went on for several days; he very angry, and nobody could discover who did it; one day, a curtain fell down and another copy of these verses appeared; at last they appointed a commission to try and find it out, and for six weeks it ceased; but then it began again, and it never had been discovered. Lord Holland also told some other curious mysterious anecdotes. Talked of the Duchess of Portsmouth,¹ whose pictures Lord Holland said were "very Dolly"; she lived to be ninety or a hundred; Lord Holland's grandfather *saw* her in 1729; and she believed Charles II. to have been poisoned; Lord M. said he died of apoplexy. Talked of its being seldom that people were really poisoned; Lord M. thinks that the Duchess of Orleans,² Mme. Henriette, was poisoned in a glass of chicory water, for that she died immediately after taking it. Talked of Prussic Acid; Lord M. said it won't kill if its alloyed, but otherwise one drop is certain death.

Friday, 16th November.—Lord M. talked of his elder brother's name having been Peniston, but they called him Pen; it was also his father's name, but where the name originally came from he don't know. "All I know is," he said, "that in 1670 there was born at Southwell a fellow called Peniston Lamb, in very humble circumstances; he went up to London, studied the law, and became a Conveyancer and an Agent, and made a very large fortune; he died in 1734, and bequeathed his fortune to his nephews, Matthew Lamb and his brother Robert; how they were his nephews and who their father was I haven't the least idea, nor have I ever been able to find out." Lord M. told this so naïvely and simply. "Matthew Lamb also studied the law," he con-

¹ Louise Renée de Quéroualle, created by Charles II. Duchess of Portsmouth in England and by Louis XIV. Duchesse d'Aubigny in France.

² Henrietta, Duchess of Orleans (1644-70), daughter of Charles I. She married the only brother of Louis XIV. It was an unhappy marriage, and her sudden mysterious death at the age of twenty-six led her contemporaries to think that she had been poisoned by order of her husband. Bossuet preached her funeral sermon.

tinued, "and then he married Miss Coke of Melbourne, who was a great heiress ; he became Sir Matthew Lamb, and left a very large fortune to my father, who contrived to get rid of it very speedily ; still *he* has left a good fortune ; my father was somehow connected with Lord Bute, and through the interest of Lord North and the Prince of Wales, he was made, first Baron, then Viscount Melbourne ; and in the year '15 he was made a Peer of England, also by the Prince of Wales ; that's the History of the thing." This of course interested me exceedingly ; and to hear it related by this great and excellent man, and in this unostentatious, delightful manner, rendered it still more so. He reverted again to his not knowing who his grandfather was. The family of the Cokes, he said, was well known ; they were a very ancient and highly distinguished Family. His great-uncle, Robert Lamb, Bishop of Peterborough, had no children ; Lord M.'s only relations on his father's side are the Bingham and Wombwells.

Sunday, 18th November.—Talked of Clark's boy wishing to have gone into the Navy, but that the risk was so great and the promotion so slow, as there is no buying as in the Army ; talked of the buying seeming to be a bad system, and Lord M. said quite unlike any other Army ; that there was no discipline and system like ours in the World, that it had "every possible defect and yet it certainly has produced one of the finest armies," which it certainly has. Speaking of the Army, Lord M. said, "It's a department of the Government I don't understand very well," which I won't allow, for there is hardly *any thing* he don't understand ; but he said he believed the Army to be on a much better principle than the Navy, that there was less favouritism in the Army ; he is quite alarmed, he says, at the numbers of Pagets and Russells there are in the Navy ; he thinks the Navy belongs more exclusively to the Aristocracy than the Army. "I always supported Lord Hill and Fitzroy Somerset¹ from

¹ Lord Fitzroy Somerset (1788–1855), afterwards first Lord Raglan, was a son of the fifth Duke of Beaufort. An officer described by the critical historian of the

the beginning of Lord Grey's Government," he said. Lord M. likes Lord Hill and thinks he managed well ; if there had been any other great commander to put in his place perhaps he wouldn't have hesitated removing him, he said ; but there is nobody, but people like Lord Anglesey, who *never* would do, and Lord William Bentinck,¹ "who is a worthy man as can be, but a wild-headed man."

Lord M. said there was formerly more *real* feeling for religion, "less show"; not "ostentatious." "You should be humble." Lord M. said, "I was thinking this morning how I should curtail it" (the Service); "I think I would have the Psalms and the concluding Prayer"; not the Lessons, as they are detached ; the Commandments he would also have ; but he don't think it would be *well* to change it *at all*. He admires the Psalms very much, thinks them very fine, but that there are some odd things in them, and he thinks some of the translations were imperfectly done, the language not being so well understood 200 years ago as now ; but he said, it would not do to attempt to translate them again.

Sunday, 25th November.—Talked of various things and of Lord Holland's grandfather having seen the Duchess of Portsmouth,² which I thought most extraordinary. Lord M. said, both his grandfather and grandmother, Lady C. Fox, saw her ; she used to go with her father and mother, the Duke and Duchess of Richmond,³ to see the Duchess of Portsmouth at Aubigny ; the Duke was

Peninsular War as of gracious manners, discreet, and of sound judgment. Wounded in the arm at Waterloo. He asked the surgeon not to "carry away that arm" until he had taken off the ring given him by his wife. Courageous, high-minded, and with a noble and intrepid spirit that suffered but never quailed before hostile criticism. He bore the brunt of the Crimean struggle as Commander-in-Chief of the British Force, and died in harness before Sebastopol. "His loss," wrote the Prince Consort, "is irreparable."

¹ Lord William Bentinck (1774-1839). This judgment of Bentinck is curious, if compared with the eulogy of Macaulay engraved on the base of the Governor-General's statue at Calcutta, in which such expressions occur as "wise, upright, paternal, simple, moderate, prudent, honest, and benevolent."

² Henry Fox, first Baron Holland, was born in 1705, and the Duchess of Portsmouth died in 1734.

³ This was the second Duke, who inherited the dukedom of Aubigny direct

her grandson. Talked of there being some difficulty about the Duke of Richmond's properties in France; by the French law they ought to be divided amongst every branch of the Family, by which Lord Holland would have some, and the Beauclerks (who are descended from the Duchess of Leinster, who was the handsomest sister of Lady Caroline Fox and Lady Sarah Lennox) some. Nell Gwynn was Mother to the Duke of St. Albans, and Lord M. said she used to ridicule Mdle. de Quéroualle, Duchess of Portsmouth, and used to say, "Whenever anybody belonging to a great family in France dies, she puts on mourning, whereas if she thought of it, she ought to die of shame at what she is."

Thursday, 29th November.—He said he had seen Van Praet, and that he feared there would be great difficulty in this new Proposition of Uncle's, namely, to buy part of Luxembourg and Limbourg from the King of Holland, the part along the Meuse, and Lord M. thinks the others will *never* consent to this. Talked of this for some time, of the danger of force being employed; said I would show him Uncle's letter after the Council; he told me that he had sent me this, and that he thought I ought to ask Van Praet, but would speak to Palmerston first about it. . . .

Sunday, 2nd December.—Asked him who Lord Ligonier¹ (whose bust is in the Corridor) was; he was a French Protestant who entered our Service, he said; was made first Sir John and then Lord Ligonier; "he was quite the right hand of William Duke of Cumberland." At the Battle of Fontenoy, Lord M. said, he got mixed with the French, and thought he could save himself by his being a Frenchman, and leading on the French "en avant," and thus get back; but they discovered his red ribbon of the Bath, and they took him prisoner. . . .

from his grandmother, Louise de Quéroualle, at her death in November 1734 (Charles II.'s son, the first Duke, had died in 1723). Lady Caroline was his eldest daughter; she married Henry Fox (afterwards Lord Holland).

¹ John (or Jean) Louis, first Earl Ligonier, a skilful and intrepid soldier. He fought in Marlborough's four great battles, and commanded a division at Dettingen. Ligonier died in 1770, and was buried in Westminster Abbey.

Saturday, 15th December.—Lord M. also told me an anecdote of General Keppel¹ (Uncle to Albemarle); George III. rode very hard, and when he was a young man he rode from Windsor to London one day, very hard, General Keppel was with him, who was very old and fat, and he couldn't keep up with the King, and got so knocked up that he was obliged to stop at Turnham Green and go to bed. Talked of Brougham's letter,² which I had read on coming home, and which I told him made me angry; not the offensiveness towards me, but the villainy against himself; he said it was in fact an attack on Hereditary Monarchy. Lord M. then repeated with tears in his eyes, and most emphatically, what Lord Eldon once said: "The *King of England* is *always King*; *King* in the helplessness of infancy, *King* in the decrepitude of age." Talked of the Provost of Eton,³ and Lord Melbourne said, "I always liked this man"; he said he had always very great spirits which Lord M. says is absolutely necessary for a School Master; and that he always made the lessons so very agreeable to the boys. He was one of the under Masters when Lord M. was at school; the Head Master, Dr. Heath, and the Provost, Dr. Davis; Lord M.'s Tutor, Dr. Langford. Told Lord M. that the Provost told Lady Mary he overheard the late King saying to somebody, *whom* he would make Provost when he died; and Lord M. and I observed how singular it was he should have outlived the King; Lord M. thinks Dr. Keate *ought* to be his successor⁴;

¹ General William Keppel (1727-82), Commander-in-Chief in Ireland and Gentleman of the Horse to the King.

² This letter accused the Ministers of deserting their offices in Downing Street and Whitehall, and spending their time in the royal palace; of being indifferent to the public service so long as they retained the Sovereign's favour. Consequently, Brougham argued, the due preparation of despatches and State papers is neglected. The effect of the letter, apart from its bad taste, was neutralised by the well-known malice of the writer and his notorious grievance against Lord Melbourne.

³ Joseph Goodall, Provost. See *ante*.

⁴ Dr. Keate did not succeed Goodall when the vacancy occurred in 1840, and never was Provost of Eton. Kinglake's fine tribute to him in *Eothen* describes Keate as he was a few years before this period. He had retired from the head-

but he thinks the Provost don't look like dying yet awhile.

Sunday, 16th December.—The King wasn't at all open with Lord M., he said, though very civil; "he liked me," said Lord M., "he liked me as much as any body could, under the circumstances; that was a very disagreeable affair in '34." "I don't believe he possibly could have carried it on without Taylor¹; Taylor was a very fair man; *upon my honour* I don't see how it could have gone on; the King used to go and talk to Taylor, and Taylor softened matters."

Monday, 17th December.—Lord M. said Hoppner² had made 2 pictures of him when he left Eton, and was about 17; one is at Bocket, and the other, which was painted for Dr. Langford and sold after his death, was bought by his brother George and is at Melbourne; the Provost was asking after it, and Lord M. said, "I know where it was. I could get it." Lord M. said it was very like, and "I think a very handsome boy,"—which I'm sure it *is*, and he *was*; I regretted much there was no print of it. Lord Melbourne had a very pretty head of his sister by Lawrence, at Bocket. Talked of the picture of her and his other sister, by Hoppner, which is in George Street; of the one of him when a little boy of a year old, by Cosway, playing or rolling with 2 dogs; and talked of the one by Reynolds, of him (when 4 years old), his eldest brother, and his brother Frederick, which is also in George Street and a beautiful picture, he says;

mastership in 1834. He was a Canon of Windsor and Rector of Hartley West-pall, where he died in 1852.

¹ Sir Herbert Taylor, who had been Private Secretary to William IV, died in March of the following year, 1839. He was at this time First and Principal A.D.C. to the Queen, and living on a pension of £1,000 per annum from the Civil List granted to him by George III. for his services as Private Secretary to Queen Charlotte. What happened to the correspondence of William IV., which was presumably in charge of Sir Herbert Taylor, has never been discovered.

² Hoppner, whom Lawrence in 1810 called "my most dangerous rival," died in that year. The portrait of Lord Melbourne painted for Dr. Langford is believed to be one which is now the property of the King and is in the Corridor at Windsor Castle.

I've got a print of it. "Leslie was talking of it the other day," said Lord M., "he says it's like me now," which I think it is; Lord M. said, that Leslie told him, and it certainly is so, that all the pictures Reynolds painted of people when they were children, are like them now. Talked of Reynolds being the greatest painter England ever produced; of his great talent for painting children; of the fine picture he painted of George IV. and which George IV. gave to Lord M.'s father in '84; it is at Brocket. Talked of George III.'s dislike of Reynolds, and of his predilection for West.¹ Lord M. told me that he heard it had been remarked that I didn't bow to the Officer when the Escort changed; I thanked Lord Melbourne for telling me so, and I said I would take care and do so. One of the first things Lord Wellesley told him, he said, was that "Lord Plunket² had made a most excellent joke." Lord W. asked Lord Plunket what *Personal* Narrative meant, and Lord P. answered, that *Personal* was in general in opposition to *real*; Lord M. told this so funnily, imitating Lord Wellesley's way of speaking. . . .

Friday, 28th December.—The first actresses, said Lord M., began in Charles II.'s reign, and were Mrs. Ness, Mrs. Marshall, and Nell Gwynn, all women of bad character; there is an account of them in Pepys' Memoirs, he says. They were succeeded by others in William III.'s and Queen Anne's reigns, whose names he mentioned but which I've forgotten; and they again by Mrs. Yates, "who were beautiful actresses, and very

¹ Benjamin West (1738–1820) was Reynolds's successor as President of the Royal Academy. There are some charming portraits of George III.'s family by West, now hung in Kensington Palace, to which they were brought from Hampton Court in 1901. Gainsborough was a greater favourite with the King than even West. He, too, painted a series of portraits of the King's children. They are in Queen Mary's audience-room at Windsor, a room beautifully decorated in the Victorian manner by Crace for the Prince Consort. This series of portraits, very little known, is among the best work of Gainsborough.

² William Conyngham, first Lord Plunket, was Attorney-General for Ireland during Lord Wellesley's Lord-Lieutenancy. He was Irish Lord Chancellor under Lords Grey and Melbourne, but was induced to resign the post in favour of Campbell.

clever women, some bad, some good." Mrs. Jordan died in '16, he said, at Paris, but acted till '13 or '14; Mrs. Jordan¹ was very good-natured, Lord M. said, and George IV. liked her. Asked Lord M. if he ever knew her to speak to; he said no, never; that one day when he went behind the scenes with Mr. Lewis,² the author, they met her just coming off the stage in man's clothes; she had been acting Hippolyta.

Sunday, 30th December.—Lord M. said, "No woman ever wrote a really good book; no sterling book." Hannah More and Mme. de Sévigné were mentioned, and he admitted that those were both exceptions; H. More he thinks a very clever writer, and said she drew the distinction between the intellects of *man* and *woman* uncommonly well; "a woman has a much quicker intellect, much acuter, seizes a point much quicker, but somehow or other they don't keep it," he said, which made us laugh; Mme. de Staël he thinks the best female writer, and that she was very clever, "but she was a great humbug." Mrs. Somerville,³ he agreed, was very clever, and said that Lord Harewood said of her, "She is good from the attic to the kitchen." When La Grange saw her at Paris, Lord M. continued, he said that he only knew one as clever as her, and that was a Miss Fairfax. "That's me!" she replied. Talked of Miss Edgeworth's writings; also

¹ Dorothy Jordan (1762-1816). Her "good nature" plunged this clever and attractive actress into many difficult situations. She was equally lavish of her affections and her resources. She bore the Duke of Clarence ten children. There are two portraits of her in the Garrick Club.

² Matthew Gregory Lewis was one of Byron's intimate associates in the days of his youthful dissipation. He wrote many plays and some poems, and a novel against which legal proceedings were taken on the score of immorality. This novel, *Ambrosio, or The Monk*, gave rise to the nickname of "Monk Lewis," by which he is generally known. He died of yellow fever on his way home from the West Indies in 1818.

³ Mary Somerville (1780-1872), daughter of Vice-Admiral Sir William George Fairfax. A lady of striking intellect and rare scientific attainments, but of so fair and fragile appearance that in girlhood she was called "The Rose of Jedburgh," her birthplace. She was the most remarkable woman of her generation, if judged by the standards usually applied to scientific thinkers of the sterner sex.

Oliver Twist,¹ which I must say is excessively interesting; of Mr. Pitt's way of dressing, which Lord M. described as being a blue coat, a pair of nankin breeches very tight over the knees, blue silk stockings, and shoes with buckles; "that was the dress of a beau in those days."

¹ *Oliver Twist* began to appear in January 1837, and was not completed until March 1839, so that the Queen was now more than halfway through the novel.

CHAPTER VI

JAN.—MAY 1839

Thursday, 1st January.—Got up at 9. Most fervently do I beseech Almighty God to preserve me and all those most dear to me safely through this year, and to grant that all may go on as it has hitherto done, and to make me daily more fit for my station. Sir George Grey¹ must, Lord Melbourne thinks, be eventually Judge Advocate-General; "but John Russell wishes to have him in the House on the Address; and Lord Glenelg is very unwilling to part with him." It will be difficult to replace him, Lord M. says, but he is very desirous of being Judge Advocate. Lord M. took 2 apples (Newtown pippins), put one on his plate, and wrapped up the 2nd in his napkin, and hid it in his lap; he did this in such a playful manner as made me and himself laugh very much. When the one was eaten, the 2nd was produced from its hiding place. He then mentioned Mrs. Jordan as such a charming actress, though a little vulgar; "there was nothing like her," he said, her spirits and all. Talked of Mme. Vestris, her being half Italian; Garrick's mother being Italian,² which Lord M. told us and which I never knew. "It's very rare to see a good actress," said Lord M., "it's very rare to see a good anything, that's the fact." Lady Ashley said, she should

¹ Under-Secretary for the Colonies, but appointed Judge Advocate-General this year, and afterwards Home Secretary for nearly 20 years.

² Lord Melbourne probably meant Garrick's grandmother, and not his mother. David de la Garrique, the actor's Huguenot grandfather, may have married an Italian. Garrick's mother was Arabella Clough, the daughter of a vicar-choral of Lichfield Cathedral.

like so much to act, and Lady Fanny too, though neither has ever acted. "Would like to smell the lamps," Lord M. said to Lady Fanny; talked of its being easier to sing and act; Lord M. said, it took away from the sameness; "Music takes away the sameness of a tragedy,—that is to those who *like* it."

Wednesday, 2nd January.—Lord Melbourne was very cheerful and seemed in good spirits when out riding; I observed that he had a green coat on, since he was here, which I hadn't observed him wear before; he smiled and said, "Is it a bad colour?" I assured him quite the contrary, but that it was new for him to wear it, as also an olive-green velvet waistcoat.

Thursday, 3rd January.—He had seen his sister. "She says," he continued, "that that picture¹ which the Maids of Honour wear, is wrong." That it was throwing it away upon them and ought to have been given only to the Ladies in Waiting; I said it was a very small picture, and that the Ladies had a picture in a bracelet; he continued that it's considered the very highest distinction the Emperor and Empress of Russia can give, to wear their Portrait on the shoulder with a red ribbon; "She says Mme. de Lieven would die of it if she saw it." Talked of George IV.'s giving his picture to so few; Lady Conyngham, Lady Cowper, and Lady Aboyne² being the only 3 English Ladies who had it. Talked of my feeling low and ill, which as I had felt it both times I was here, at different seasons, was a proof, I thought, that the place [Windsor] disagreed, which he wouldn't allow. He said very funnily, "You have got some fixed fancies; Your Majesty has settled in your mind certain

¹ The "picture" was a miniature portrait of the Queen. The Queen *always* wore up to the time of her death a *small miniature* of herself surrounded by diamonds on a bow of crimson ribbon. The Ladies-in-Waiting wore a bracelet with the Queen's miniature up to the time the 2nd Class of the "Victoria and Albert" Order was instituted, when the Queen gave the 2nd Class to the Ladies-in-Waiting. The Women of the Bedchamber wore the Queen's monogram in pearls and diamonds on a white watered silk bow.

² Lord Aboyne, afterwards tenth Marquess of Huntly. Lady Aboyne had been Lady Elizabeth Conyngham, sister of the Lord Chamberlain.

things." Talked of the *Beggars' Opera* by Gay, which Lord M. has seen very often, and which is coarse; but he says they have refined it down so much and scratched out so much as the times got more polished, that there was hardly anything good left. Gay had some talent, Lord M. said; he was at Court about the Duke of Cumberland, and was offered, Lord M. said, the situation of gentleman Usher, which however he didn't think good enough, and left the court; upon which he was taken up by the Duchess of Queensberry,¹ a great beauty and leading person of the day, but who was always in opposition to the Court; she was a Hyde, Lord M. said, daughter to Lord Rochester and grand-daughter to Clarendon; talked of Gay's fables which Lord M. knew by heart when he was 4 years old; of children learning fables; their not understanding them "as they are generally deep." He thinks the French fables the best. He mentioned Lafontaine's, "though he's a writer not to be mentioned generally; he's not a correct writer"; his *tales* are not to be mentioned, but his fables are excellent; Lord M. thinks him, Molière, and another, the best French writers; I observed Molière was not very proper; Lord M. said pretty well, that there was a great difference in what was so "from the coarseness of the times, and what is avowedly so," which is very true. Talked of Barante's² *History of the House of Burgundy*, which Lord M. says is so excessively interesting, though rather a long book; "more like a novel"; that there were many things in History which he thinks very extraordinary—hardly credible; all that about the murder of the Duke of Orleans by the Duke of Burgundy (in the book) and of

¹ This lady died of a surfeit of cherries in 1777. Her correspondence with Swift and Gay, her influence over the elder Pitt, her intimacy with Pope and Prior, her eccentricity in dress, and her youthful appearance in old age made her famous. Walpole at Twickenham used to thank God that "the Thames is between me and the Duchess of Queensbury."

² Amable Guillaume Prosper de Barante, Baron de Brugière, born in 1782, held important civil posts in France under the Empire and after the Restoration. He was also Ambassador at St. Petersburg. His *Histoire des Ducs de Bourgogne de la Maison de Valois*, published in 1824, led to his admission to the French Academy.

the Duke of Burgundy by the Dauphin was very curious ; it all arose from an offence given ; the Duke of Orleans was a violent man, Lord M. continued, and he showed the Duke of Burgundy into a room full of pictures, "and he said to the Duke, 'All these ladies have been my mistresses,'—and the first was the Duchess of Burgundy." That offence was the cause of the Duke's murder ; there's the whole account of Joan of Arc in it, "and beautifully told," Lord M. said ; "I suppose it was enthusiasm at first, but she certainly *became* an excellent commander." Talked of the English behaving so cruelly to her ; Lord M. said he really wasn't quite surprised, considering the times, and how extraordinary it was.

Tuesday, 8th January.—Lord M. again took two apples, but only ate one, and put the other before him ; I asked him if he meant to eat it ; he thought not, and said, "But I like to have the *power* of doing so." I observed hadn't he just as well the power of doing so, when the apples were in the dish on the table ? He laughed and said, "Not the *full* power."

Wednesday, 9th January.—Talked of Lady Stanhope not having written very often. "Why, pretty well," said Lord M., "considering that I've not written to her once ; not once." He said he didn't answer all the letters he got, which I didn't wonder at ; "But the Duke of Wellington would," he replied ; "he would answer all and if he didn't answer them all he would at least acknowledge them and that's the right way." Talked of Sedan Chairs and being carried in one, which Lord M. said "is a very pleasant sensation." "My mother used always to have her chair, and it was the usual mode of conveyance ; the Town is grown too large for it now."

Sunday, 13th January.—I looked with Lord Melbourne at 2 vols. of Engravings (small) after Reynolds' pictures ; and he knew who almost *all* of them were. I shall only name a very few of those he observed upon. *Mrs. Masters*,—"She was supposed to be the handsomest woman that ever lived," he said, "I knew her particularly

well; she died about 20 year ago," was 65 years old. Sir Joshua died in '93, Lord M. thinks.¹ Reynolds was perpetually painting those women; Kitty Fisher, Nelly O'Brien. There was a pretty picture of a Miss Collier; a *Mrs. Mary Robinson*,²—"She was the 1st about whom there was any noise." A *Miss Emily*, a famous picture, as Thais, and a great beauty. *Lady C. Spencer*, whom Lord M. only saw (did not know) when she was old, and then a great *dévôte*, walking with her spaniels.

Monday, 14th January.—Asked Lord M. if he thought Lady Holland felt her being unable to come to court³; he shook his head and said, "Perpetually; oh! she feels it very much." George IV. knew her, he said, but disliked her very much latterly; and she one day was very rude to him (George IV.) when he came into her box at the Play; and he was perpetually recurring to that; "He said to my brother, 'Don't you remember, Frederick, when we went into the box that night, how she treated me?'" George IV. was excessively fond of Lord Holland, Lord M. said; and Lady Holland rather expected he would have received her, as he used when Prince Regent to go there so often; said, I thought perhaps she mightn't feel the exclusion; Lord M. said, "Oh! she feels it deeply; there's nobody who doesn't feel it; I have never known anybody who didn't feel it bitterly; many don't wish to go, but they don't like the exclusion."

Wednesday, 16th January.—Lord M. had seen all Chantrey's works in his studio; and he said, "I saw Mrs. Jordan's statue"; the late King, Lord M. told me

¹ In 1792.

² The famous "Perdita," whose intimacy with George, Prince of Wales, afterwards George IV., was notorious. She is never likely to be forgotten so long as Gainsborough's lovely portrait of her hangs in Hertford House. She was not only a beautiful and talented actress, but a writer of passable prose and verse. Charles Fox found her society as well as her person to his taste, and Garrick liked her as an actress and as a woman. After many vicissitudes she died, aged 40, at Englefield Green, and was buried in the churchyard at Old Windsor. Gainsborough's sketch for her famous portrait, a work even more beautiful than the finished picture, hangs in the Queen's private sitting-room at Windsor Castle.

³ She was the divorced wife of Sir Godfrey Webster. See *ante*, Nov. 4, 1834.

(Chantrey told him) sent for Chantrey about 4 or 5 days after he came to the Throne, and desired him to make this statue, which he had *always* intended to have done when he had the means for it; the King's Executors tell Chantrey it belongs to Munster, but Lord M. said Munster doesn't know what to do with it; it's too large for a house; it's with 2 of the children, and done after the picture Beechey did of her when she was quite young and thin, and not like what Lord M. remembers her. Then Lord M. said, they didn't know what to write under it, so they called it, "Sacred to the memory of an affectionate Mother, Dorah Bland." But I asked Lord M., why shouldn't it be Dorah Jordan? Bland was her maiden name; Lord M. said he had no idea who Mr. Jordan was,¹ or if she was married to him. She died at St. Cloud in '16. Her brother, called Bland, was not a good actor, but was very like her, and used to act with her in the *Twelfth Night*. "She was beautifully formed," Lord M. said, "her legs and feet were beautifully formed, as this statue is"; and she used to be fond of acting in men's clothes; she used to act Hippolyta in *She Would and She Would Not* and Rosalind in *As You Like It*; "a lovely play," said Lord M., "the prettiest play in the world; and her acting in that was quite beautiful." "She had a beautiful enunciation," he added. She was an Irish girl.

Sunday, 20th January.—After dinner Lord Melbourne came up to me and said, "I've seen Sir James Clark this morning; he's very anxious about this vaccination." Lord M. then talked for some time to me about this, urging me to have it done; I resisted. "You'll have it done," he said; "if it doesn't take, why then you're safe; and if it does, it can do no harm." I said I did not mind the thing,—but thought it quite useless²; he owned there was a degree of fuss; "You think it's childish,"

¹ Mr. Jordan was a myth. She was never married.

² Although Jenner's discovery was about sixty years old, vaccination was by no means universal in 1839, and revaccination rare. It was not made compulsory in Great Britain until 1853.

he continued; "now that's nonsense; I shall see Halford¹ to-morrow morning; shall I ask *him*?" I said he might.

Said to Lord M. I should resist about this Vaccination; "Oh! no, you'll do it," he said kindly; I said No, and that no one could force me to it; he agreed in that, but strongly urged it and said earnestly, "*Do*." "Think if you were to have it; think of the responsibility, of the scrape you'd get them into; of the scrape you'd get us all into."

Thursday, 24th January.—Lord M. said there had been rather an important Cabinet yesterday, about the Corn Laws, which lasted from 3 till 6. "There was a good deal of difference of opinion," he said, "I hope it'll go no farther." Thomson and Howick, he said, were very anxious, and urged it very strongly, that the Government should take advantage of the present clamour about the Corn Laws "and change the present fluctuating duty upon Corn to a fixed duty of 10s." Lord M. said that the greater part of the Cabinet were for the change, but think it would be extremely unsafe for the Government to change at this moment, the course the Government has hitherto pursued; it was an Open Question, and everybody voted as they liked, he said; "But they" (Thomson and Howick) "urged it very strongly; it was a very eager debate, and they may urge it farther." Interests and opinions in the country, he says, are very much divided-upon it; some think the present system, which almost entirely excludes the Importation of Foreign Corn, is very injurious to the Country; others just the contrary.

Wednesday, 30th January.—Lord M.'s eyes filled with tears in speaking of England's glories; he *loves* his country *truly*. "George III. said," Lord M. continued, "'I've been both the most unpopular and the most popular of monarchs; the first I owe to my Ministers; the last I owe to my son'; rather a bitter *mot*, if he said

¹ Sir Henry Halford (originally Vaughan), Bart., Physician to George III. and IV., William IV., and Queen Victoria.

it." Talked of Lord M.'s house in Downing Street, which is a "large rambling house, badly furnished."¹ He made a contract with a man in '34, just before Lord M. was out, for furnishing it for 6 and 20,000£, and paid £300 to be off. They have the Cabinets at his house in Downing Street instead of at the Foreign Office, now.²

Thursday, 31st January.—Talked of my going to the Play in State again, and Lord M. said, "If you like it, it's a popular thing." Talked of the standing for the Attendants being rather a hard thing; and Lord M. said, he believed George III. and Queen Charlotte introduced that,—and particularly George III. Talked of George III. using to go once a week to the Play in State; George IV. used to go often before he became King, and understood acting well, Lord M. said. Lord M. said there had been hardly any Court till George III.'s time, since Queen Caroline (George II.'s wife),³ and she was only Queen for 10 years; "She had a literary society," Lord M. continued; "Dr. Clark, and Leibnitz." Lord M. admires her; talked of Frederick Prince of Wales. Said I thought he was stupid, which Lord M. doesn't think, but said, "He wrote ridiculous verses; he was always writing love verses."

Friday, 1st February.—Got at dinner a letter from Lord Melbourne, in which he gives me an account of an arrangement to get over our present serious difficulties. This is Lord Melbourne's communication: "Lord Melbourne presents his humble duty to your Majesty, and begs to acquaint Your Majesty that he has seen

¹ The official house of the Prime Minister. It was left by Sir Robert Walpole to his successors. It has not, however, always been used by the Prime Minister. Lord Salisbury, for instance, did not occupy it, but gave it to Mr. Balfour, who at that time was First Lord of the Treasury and Leader of the House of Commons.

² The practice has varied under different Prime Ministers. At the present time (1914) the Cabinet Councils are again held in the old Cabinet room in Downing Street, in spite of the size of the Cabinet. The room has double doors, for the purpose of greater secrecy, and a "messenger," by immemorial custom, is stationed at the door.

³ That is, between 1737 (when Queen Caroline died) and 1760, when George III. succeeded to the throne.

Lord John Russell. Lord John is of opinion that the only mode of keeping the Government together is to take immediate measures for replacing Lord Glenelg at the Colonial Office.—He proposes that Lord Normanby should be sent for from Ireland and receive the Colonial Seals, and that Lord Glenelg should have the Privy Seal with a retiring pension. Lord Melbourne must speak to Lord Lansdowne, Lord Palmerston, and others, before he can decidedly submit such an arrangement to Your Majesty, but Lord Melbourne fears that there is no other mode of preventing the dissolution of the Administration."

Saturday, 2nd February.—Lord M. then said, "Now, Ma'am, I wrote to John Russell this morning, very strongly, representing the great difficulty of a change at this moment, and how strange it would appear, and here is his answer." In this he says he thought he had been *punished by the dreadful calamity he had endured for meddling in other people's business*, and that he did not mean to bring it forward again; but that Lord Howick's opposition had roused all his feelings again, and that he would resign next week. Lord Melbourne then read over the part in which he says he thought himself punished by the calamity he had undergone,¹ and Lord M. said, proved how full he was of his misfortune, and that he was always harping upon it; and Lord M. observed that people are always thinking why they in particular should be afflicted. "Now this looks very unfavourable," said Lord M., but he continued that he had met Palmerston (on Constitution Hill, which had made him late, he said) whom he had desired to speak to Howick; Palmerston said he had conversed fully with Howick; Howick said, though he quite agreed with Lord John upon the bad state the Government of the Colonies was in, still he knew and saw the impossibility of a change now, and therefore he would be content to remain, if

¹ Lord John's usually well-balanced mind was temporarily unhinged by the loss of his wife in the preceding November. He was a man exceptionally sensitive and tender in the more intimate relations of life.

he could be sure that the Colonial Department would be better conducted; Lord M. said, "So I hope to be able to prevent their having a blow up, before the Address is over; and then try and settle it with them; but I don't know." I repeated to Lord M. that I thought it not at all *right* of either of them, that they should bring this on just now. "No, it isn't right," said Lord M., "and that's what Thomson says; he says, 'You won't have a leg to stand upon, for if you put it upon the total incapacity of Glenelg, why that's been known for a year or two,—and if it's only upon this last decision of the Cabinet, why that's not ground enough,'" which is exceedingly true. I asked Lord M. if he thought Lord John would have resigned if his Wife were alive; Lord M. thinks certainly not, for that she wouldn't have let him do so.

Monday, 4th February.—Lord M. then told me he had asked Lord Palmerston about the Pronunciation of the word *Guaranteed*; that if I wished to be very English I ought to say *guarantee*, for that the English word was *warranty* and *warrantee*; and the French way of pronouncing it was *garantée*, as Lord M. pronounces it; the *g* was introduced in Charles II.'s time. Talked of Glenelg; the letter was to go in the evening. Asked Lord M. if Glenelg was at all aware of what was brewing; Lord M. said not, and I asked him what would they give him: "We must give him the Privy Seal"; I said, then Lord Duncannon¹ must give it up. Lord M. said, "He only holds it, without having any salary; he takes the salary from the Woods and Forests." . . .

Wednesday, 6th February.—Said, I felt happier to read the Speech at the Proroguing than at the Opening of Parliament; which he quite understood. But, he said, "You seemed more at your ease yesterday, seemed less nervous; you were very steady." Said I was less so, but that I *always* felt nervous; and Lord M. said that no one ever got over that, and that there were very few who didn't feel the same nervousness before making a Speech even if you had done it a 100 times; he feels

¹ John William, afterwards fourth Earl of Bessborough.

that, he says ; and Pitt, he said, never came to the House that he didn't feel certain he should break down ; but Lord M. said, it is said, nobody speaks well who hasn't that feeling.

Thursday, 7th February.—Said to Lord M. I was never satisfied with my own reading, and thought I put the wrong emphasis upon words ; he said, "No, you read very well ; I thought you read it very well this morning" ; and I said I often felt so conscious of saying stupid things in conversation, and that I thought I was often very childish.¹ "You've no reason to think that," said Lord M., and that I feared I often asked him tiresome and indiscreet questions and bored him. "Never the least," he replied ; "you *ought* to ask."

Friday, 8th February.—At 20 m. to 2 came Lord Melbourne and stayed with me till 5 m. p. 2. He had ridden here ; and said he was "well in health" ; he showed me a letter from Glenelg persisting in his resignation ; Lord M. said, when I had read it, "The only way is to say that his resignation has been accepted, and to send for Normanby." Said, I thought it very hard upon Lord M. all this happening at this moment. "It puts us into immense difficulties and dangers," he replied, "when once such a shake has begun, you never know where it may end." Talked of Glenelg's being very much hurt at all this ; and Lord M. said, "I never should have done it if I hadn't known that nothing but that could prevent the dissolution of the Government." I said certainly John Russell and Howick had brought all this difficulty upon them, in which Lord M. agreed ; and I said it was very wrong of them. Talked of people's being like their Parents ; and Lord M. said Pitt was the son of Lord Chatham by Lord Grenville's sister ; and Lord M. said that when he made a speech people could tell exactly from which it came ; "That's from *Pitt*—that's from *Grenville*."

Sunday, 10th February.—Lord M. made us laugh very

¹ The Queen was still in her teens. These Journals show how modestly she underestimated her intelligence, her perspicacity, and her fine memory.

much with his opinions about Schools and Public Education; the latter he don't like, and when I asked him if he did, he said, "I daren't say in these times that I'm against it,—but I *am* against it." He says it may do pretty well in Germany, but that the English would not submit to that thralldom; he thinks it much better be left to Voluntary Education, and that people of any great genius were educated by circumstances, and that "the education of circumstances" was the best; what *is* taught in Schools might be improved, he thinks. "All this was beginning when I was a boy," he said, "when I was with a Clergyman at Hatfield, all those Sunday Schools were beginning." I asked him if he didn't think that Asylum of Miss Murray's for poor criminal children very good; he shook his head and said, "I doubt it." I said they would else commit every sort of atrocity and wickedness; "And so they will now, you'll see," he replied. Then he talked of those Normal Schools where they are going to educate Schoolmasters, and he said, "You'll see they'll breed the most conceited set of blockheads ever known, and that'll be of no use whatever; now mind me if they don't," he added, turning to me.

Talked of Lord John's resigning and *his* (Ld. J.'s) reasons for so doing, and Lord M. said, "*I* think it's all nonsense," but that if Lord John had once taken a thing into his head it was almost impossible to make him change; and Lord M. thinks he is obstinate when he gets such notions; Howick, excessively obstinate and eager. Said to Lord M. I regretted so much that I was of no use, for that I *felt* I was of no use. "Oh! no," he said, "quite the contrary"; and I said I hoped, if he thought it would be of any use, he would use my name whenever he thought proper. "Thank you, Ma'am, I'll do so," he replied; "I'll do what I think right and best about that." Lord M. says he believes there will be little difficulty from the Opposition; "the real danger always comes from ourselves," and he said *he* didn't mind being helped by the Tories, for that he knew their faults and

merits as well as he did those of our friends, but Lord John dislikes it exceedingly, and can't bear unpopularity in his own party.

Monday, 11th February.—Lord Melbourne had seen Lord Lansdowne last night, and they agreed that either Lord Tavistock or Lord Clarendon¹ would be the best for a Lord Lieutenant. I am quite of this opinion; Lord M. doesn't know if Tavistock would take it; Lord Clarendon we both think would be very fit for it. Lord M. said, "All the Irish Members are in despair at Normanby's leaving Ireland," which I can quite understand. Talked of Charles II. going to the House of Lords during Debates; "he used to stand by the fire and talk with the Peers like anybody else,"² said Lord M.; but it has never been done since. Talked of its being very hard I could never go, for that I would give anything to go.

Wednesday, 13th February.—Talked of Lady Portman's little girl, who had been very naughty in the morning and had quite resisted and refused to read when I asked her to do so, before I went to sit to Chantrey; and Lord M. said, "I never heard of such a thing, I never heard of a child who refused to do what he was asked," which made us laugh very much. "That must be a very refractory child." "You never hear," he continued, "a boy who has been brought up at a public school, say *I won't* or *I wouldn't*"; that those who were brought up at Private Schools did so; I said *I* always did, and most children did, and we asked him if he hadn't done so when a child. "Not much, very little, I knew I couldn't." "We shall see what this Board of Education will do," he added funnily.

Thursday, 14th February.—At 20 m. to 3 I rode out with Lord Uxbridge, Lord Fingall,³ Lord Alfred, Daisy,

¹ Sir George Villiers (see *ante*, Sept. 9, 1833) had succeeded to the Clarendon earldom in 1838.

² While listening to the discussion in Parliament of Lord Ross's Divorce Bill, Charles exclaimed that it was "as good as a play."

³ Arthur James, ninth Earl, for some time Lord-in-Waiting to Queen Victoria.

Miss Murray, Col. Wemyss, Major Keppel, and came home at $\frac{1}{2}$ p. 5. I rode Comus who went delightfully; and rode between Lord Uxbridge and Col. Wemyss; it was a long and pleasant ride, and a most lovely day, warm like Summer. We rode 1st through Kensington by Addison Road, into the Acton Road, and across into the Harrow Road, and so home by the Park. We saw no less than 4 *trains* pass close to us, and had to wait for one where we have to cross the rail-road; once we were lost, or rather mistook our way, and had to retrace our steps.

Sunday, 24th February.—Talked of Lord Douro's marriage to Lady Elizabeth Hay,¹ one of Lord Tweeddale's daughters, being settled; both Lady Normanby and I said we should not believe it till we saw Lord Douro really married, for that he was so very changeable; they said Lord Douro had been out shopping with the young lady; and Lord M. said, "Shopping is very demonstrative," which made us laugh; and "There is a day when even the most *volage* is fixed, and has his wings clipped." Talked of the picture of Van Amburgh and the Lions Landseer is making. "Why, he" (V. Amburgh) "quite brings Daniel down," said Lord M.; and he talked of the Power the ancients had with Music over beasts, and passions; we said that would have no effect on him (Ld. M.); he said Orpheus would; which made us laugh; he said the formation of the organ of the ear was different, and also that the dislike came from want of attention. "I have music in me," he said, "if it was awoke; only I never attended to it." If he really had *liked* it, I said, he must have attended to it. "I never could dance in time," he said; "I never knew when it began. Sir Isaac Newton said," he continued, "'The only difference between me and a carter, is attention.'" "I despised music when I was young, beyond everything," said Lord M., "and everybody who liked it; I

¹ Daughter of eighth Marquess of Tweeddale. She became Lady Douro, and afterwards Duchess of Wellington. She outlived the Duke many years.

was very foolish." It was the fashion, he said, then, to dislike music and dancing, and to lounge upon the sofas. . . .

Tuesday, 5th March.—Lord M. said that he had received a letter from the Duke of Wellington the day before yesterday, in which the Duke says that there is a gentleman in Hampshire whose son was Aide-de-Camp to the Emperor of Russia, and that he had written over (I suppose to his Father) that he had seen a large plan on the Emperor's table of an intention to attack the East Indies with his fleet, that the Emperor had referred it to his Ministers, and that he had afterwards seen it on the Emperor's table marked "approved"; the Duke says he does not think it at all probable that such a large and difficult undertaking should really be in contemplation, but he thinks it possible that the Emperor would get his Fleet into the Mediterranean, and wishes that something should be done to prevent their coming out; the Duke thought this intelligence ought not to be totally disregarded and therefore brought it before the Government. "I don't think it very probable," said Lord M., "but it mustn't be totally disregarded."¹ Lord M. then said he was afraid they were in a scrape about the Registrar's Certificate for a marriage, of which he already told me the other night; it sounds exceedingly absurd, a man has married his grandmother; Lord M. told me the case; an old man of 70 named John Payne married a girl of 17; he had a grown-up son who had an illegitimate son; and on the death of the old man, this same natural son married his grandfather's widow,—which is, of course, quite wrong; and the mistake arose, Lord M. said, from the Registrar saying that an illegitimate child was no relation, "nullius filius," Lord M. said, and that therefore he might marry his grandmother; now, Lord M. said, this is quite wrong, and only applies to inheritance of property and not to a

¹ This ridiculous story was proved afterwards to be a pure fabrication. It is interesting as an illustration of the type of sensational gossip that finds credence in all countries and under all forms of government.

thing of this sort ; "else," he said, "a man might marry his Mother or his Sister."¹

Monday, 11th March.—Talked of the late King's serious and real intention to marry me to the second son of the Prince of Orange ; "He was very eager about it," said Lord M., "he was very angry with me about that, for I made a great many objections to it." Lord M. said the King meant to have managed it any how, and he was always afraid of being "forestalled" about it, which I said he very likely would have been. "The Prince of Orange was very anxious about it," Lord M. continued ; "he came to me about it, and said the King wished it very much, but that he knew that wasn't the only thing in this country ; and he wished to know if I had any decided objection to it." I talked of my Uncle being greatly alarmed about it. Pozzo, Lord M. said, and all the Russians, were anxious and always wishing for the Dutch alliance. I asked Lord M. did he think Pozzo was still for it ; Lord M. said, of course they always wished for such an alliance ; I asked was there in general much said about my marrying. "I haven't heard anything," he said, "but there will be some day a great deal ; but I'll ask." The best way to prevent that, I said, was by never marrying at all ; and that I used to frighten my relations by saying so. I asked him did he think the Country was anxious I should marry, for that I wished to remain as I was for some time to come ; he said he didn't believe they showed any wish for it as yet." . . .

Wednesday, 13th March.—I said to Lord M. I knew I had been very disagreeable and cross in the morning, which he didn't allow. I said I had been exceedingly angry with John Russell for not letting me go to Drury Lane ; Lord M. laughed and said, "But it can't be." I couldn't get my gloves on, and Lord M. said, "It's those consumed rings ; I never could bear them." I said I was fond of them, and that it improved an ugly hand.

¹ The registrar was giving effect to what is still the popular idea on the subject. The Courts, however, have decided that a widower may not marry even the niece of his dead wife, although the niece's mother was illegitimate.

"Makes it worse," he replied; I said I didn't wear them of a morning. "*Much* better," he said, "and if you didn't wear them, nobody else would." Ear-rings he thinks barbarous. I said I thought I was not getting stronger. "Why, you have every appearance of getting stronger," he said, and "You should take the greatest care of your health; there's nothing like health; particularly in your situation; it makes you so independent; bad health puts you into the power of people."

Friday, 15th March.—I said I hoped he would always tell me whatever he heard; he said, "I always do." Not lately, I said; "I haven't heard anything lately." "For," I added, "I was sure I made a great many mistakes"; "No, I don't know that at all." People said, he continued, that I was "lofty, high, stern, and decided, but that's much better than that you should be thought familiar." "I said to Stanley,"¹ he continued, "it's far better that the Queen should be thought high and decided, than that she should be thought weak. 'By God!' he said, 'they don't think that of her; you needn't be afraid of that.'" Lord M. seemed to say this with pleasure. "The natural thing," he continued, "would be to suppose that a girl would be weak and undecided; but they don't think that." I said that I was often very childish, he must perceive; "No, not at all, I don't see that in any respect," he said.

Sunday, 17th March.—Talked of the Archbishop of York and his being so wonderful for his age; I made Lord M. laugh by saying he told me that Lord M. had said to him, "You Bishops are sad dogs." "He's a good-natured lively man," said Lord M. "He was always very kind to me when I asked his advice about people." Lord M. went to the Speaker's Levée² after his dinner. Lord M. said Prime Ministers always used to have them, and they were given up by Mr. Pitt out of laziness; they used to be in the morning and Lord M.

¹ Afterwards Earl of Derby, and Prime Minister.

² The Speaker's Levée still remains an institution. The Commander-in-Chief's Levée died with the office in 1904.

said there was a curious account of the Duke of Newcastle's levées in one of Smollett's novels¹; "He used to run in to it half shaved, with the lather on one side of his face," said Lord M., "but that was the right thing; it's meant to be while you are getting up; I hold a levée; I see people while I'm dressing." I asked him if that didn't tire him. "No, not at all, and it don't keep them waiting," he replied.

Wednesday, 20th March.—We talked of Lytton Bulwer, and the book *she*² has just published; Lord M. said she has been writing since long, in Reviews. "No woman should touch pen and ink," Lord M. said, and talked of that; he said they had too much passion and too little sense. "Women write letters better than men do," he continued, "they write with greater facility and freedom, less formal and stiff." He quoted Mme. de Sévigné's beautiful letters.

Friday, 22nd March.—Got up at $\frac{1}{2}$ p. 9. Very anxious and nervous. Saw by the papers we were beat by 5; and they had sat till 4! I am in a sad state of suspense; it is now $\frac{3}{4}$ p. 12, and I have not yet heard from Lord Melbourne; I hear he was still asleep when my box arrived, and I desired they shouldn't wake him. Arranged things; wrote. Heard from Lord Melbourne: "It is now twelve o'clock and Lord Melbourne was so tired with the debate of last night that he has slept until now. The majority, as your Majesty sees, was very small. We must have a Cabinet this morning in order to consider what steps are to be taken. It must be at Lord Lansdowne's, as he is confined with the gout and cannot go out. Lord Melbourne will be with Your Majesty by one—if possible." At 5 m. to 2 he came and stayed with me till a $\frac{1}{4}$ p. 2. I asked how he was and if he wasn't very tired. "Not very," he replied, "I was very tired last night." It was so late. "I

¹ "A shaving cloth under his chin, his face frothed up to the eyes with soap-lather." See letter of J. Melford to Sir Watkin Phillips of Jesus College, Oxon, of June 5, 17—(*Humphry Clinker*).

² Lady Bulwer had just published *Cheveley, or the Man of Honour*, an attack on her husband

don't know what's to be done, really," he said. "We are going to have a Meeting at Lansdowne's to consider the question; it's a direct censure upon the Government." I asked Lord M. who had been appointed on this Committee of Inquiry into the state of Ireland. "Oh! they have appointed it fairly enough; we can't complain of unfairness in the appointing of it; but it is *having* the Committee that is the difficulty to get over," said Lord M. Lord Melbourne told me he was sure we would be beat last night, and expected "by a much larger majority." He also said to me, "I'm afraid you were very uneasy at not hearing, but I thought 5 o'clock was too late to send." Received at a $\frac{1}{4}$ to 5 the following communication from Lord Melbourne: "that the Cabinet have decided—1st, that it is impossible to acquiesce in the Vote of last night in the House of Lords; 2ndly, that it would not be justifiable to resign in the face of the declaration which I made in the year 1836, in the House of Lords, that I would maintain my post as long as I possessed the confidence of the Crown and of the House of Commons, particularly as there is no reason to suppose that we have lost the confidence of that House. 3rdly, that the course to be pursued is to give notice in the House of Commons to-night, that the sense of that House will be taken immediately after the Easter Holidays upon a Vote of approbation of the principles of Lord Normanby's Government of Ireland. If we lose that question or carry it by a small majority, we must resign. If we carry it, we may go on.—This is a plain statement of the case, and this course will at least give Your Majesty time to consider what is to be done."—I forbear making any observations upon this until I have talked fully to Lord Melbourne upon it, with the exception of one, which is—that as for "the confidence of the Crown," God knows! *no Minister, no friend* EVER possessed it so entirely as this truly excellent Lord Melbourne possesses mine!¹

¹ NOTE BY QUEEN VICTORIA, 1st October, 1842.—Reading this again, I cannot forbear remarking what an artificial sort of happiness *mine* was *then*, and

Lord M. didn't hear Lord Carew,¹ as he went out of the House for a moment when he was speaking; I said I heard he didn't speak well; "He speaks with that Wexford shriek," said Lord M. He said to Lady Normanby, "Normanby is too thin-skinned, too susceptible; and that's his fault; he shouldn't mind being abused; nobody should mind that. Brougham said to Duncannon, 'Tell that foolish friend of yours, Normanby, not to mind being abused, for he is paid to bear it.'" Talked of Brougham being a bad man with no heart; Lord M. said, "No, he *has* a heart; he has feeling, I should say he was too susceptible and acted from sudden impulses." Talked of contradicting abuse in the papers, and Lord M. said, there might one day come something one couldn't well contradict, and therefore it was better not to contradict at all. We were seated much as usual, my truly valuable and excellent Lord Melbourne being seated near me. I said to Lord M. that I was sure I never could bear up against difficulties; Lord M. turned round close to me, and said very earnestly and affectionately, "Oh! you will; you must; it's in the lot of your Station, you must prepare yourself for it." I said I never could, and he continued, "Oh! you will; you always behaved very well." I said to Lord M. I was sure he hadn't a doubt we should carry it.² I said I felt so helpless; "I don't see what any Sovereign can do, old or young, male or female," he said, "but to put themselves into the hands of the person" that they have chosen as Minister; talking of the whole thing, Lord M. said, "We'll do everything we can to avert it; I never thought we should have carried you on as far as we have done."

what a blessing it is I have now in my beloved Husband *real* and solid happiness, which no Politics, no worldly reverses *can* change; it could not have lasted long, as it was then, for after all, kind and excellent as Lord M. is, and kind as he was to [me], it was but in Society that I had amusement, and I was only living on that superficial resource, which I *then fancied* was happiness! Thank God! for *me* and others, this is changed, and I *know what REAL* happiness is.—V. R.

¹ Robert Shapland, first Lord Carew (1787-1856), sometime Lord Lieutenant of the County of Wexford.

² The vote of confidence to be moved in the House of Commons,

Wednesday, 27th March.—Lord Melbourne said, Lord Clarendon thought Spain in a better state than France; Thiers told him that he had said they meant to throw themselves entirely into the hands of England and follow England's footsteps; upon which Dupin¹ said, "I'm not prepared for that; I'm very much for a cordial alliance with England, but I'm not prepared to follow in the wake of England; France has a *politique à elle*."

Friday, 29th March.—Talked of the water in the garden here being in very good order; of the garden, in which Lord M. has never been. "I would cut down all the trees," he said, "and plant rare trees." Elms he would cut down, and "some nasty oaks, which I wish cut down every time I drive down Constitution Hill," he said. We said there would be no shade. "*Shade?* What's the use of *shade* in this country?" he said in his funniest way. I said there were some very hot days in England. "Then you stay at home," he replied. We talked of Maundy Thursday and what it could mean and be derived from.² Lord M. said, "Can't tell." Talked of that. At dinner I made Lord M. smile by saying I thought the poor people who got coins on that day, must feel the difference between the late Reign and this; for they always got as many coins as the Sovereign is old; in the late Reign they got 70, and now only 19.

Sunday, 31st March.—We talked of Nourrit,³ the French Singer, who Lord M. had never heard of having killed himself on account of his feeling the ingratitude of the Parisians who neglected him for Duprez.⁴ "That's the lot of every one," said Lord M., no Actor should kill himself for that. Lord M. said that Carlini, a famous Clown at Paris, went to a Physician and complained of being so ill, upon which the Physician said, "Go and see Carlini." This is the original story, which I have heard

¹ The new President of the Chamber of Deputies.

² Apparently from *mandatum*. The antiphon for the day before Good Friday (the day of institution of washing the feet of the poor) began "*Mandatum novum*" ("A new commandment give I," etc.).

³ Louis Nourrit, French musician and composer.

⁴ Gilbert Louis Duprez, a much younger singer than Nourrit.

told of Garrick and Liston. Lord M. said Banti¹ was the first famous Italian Singer he remembers; and he said Mrs. Billington,² who had been a very good English singer, went to Italy and when she came back, Lord M. said, quite crushed Banti, though she wasn't to be compared to her. Banti used to say of her, Lord M. said, "C'est très bien, mais elle n'a pas la dolcessa di Banti." Lord M. continued, "Grassini³ is Grisi's aunt; *she* was the best Italian actress ever seen on the stage; her voice hadn't much compass." I asked Lord M. if she was handsome. "I thought the prettiest woman I had ever seen." She had long given up singing, but Lord M. said he dined with her at Paris in '25. Lady Normanby said she saw her in '15 act with Vestris. We talked of Mrs. Siddons, my having seen her at Cobham Hall; of her being very pompous; of John Kemble also very pompous. Of Bulwer's new play of *Richelieu*; of the way of pronouncing Richelieu; Lord M. thinks it better to pronounce the French and other names as they ought to be pronounced; but he says some people wouldn't do so; that Mr. Fox, who could speak French very well, used always to say *Touloon* instead of Toulon; Bordeaux, pronouncing the *x* at the end; Fontblanky instead of Fontblanque. Talked of duelling for some time, and Lord M. said, "I should be very sorry to shoot at a man, for I should feel very confident I should kill him." Talked of the Duels abroad being so very fatal, and not so here; of fighting with swords, which Lord Gardner⁴

¹ Georgina Brigida Banti (1757-1806).

² Elizabeth Billington (1768-1818) had already had a brilliant career when, at the age of twenty-six, in consequence of some scandalous rumours, she left England, visited Italy, and sang at Naples, Milan, and elsewhere. During her stay abroad her husband died, and she was accused of murdering him. On her return she had an immense success, making £10,000 to £15,000 in the year 1801. She appeared with Banti on the occasion of the latter's farewell concert.

³ Napoleon, at Milan, had been captivated by Grassini's voice and beauty, and she used to be a guest at Malmaison. Reluctant to cause excessive jealousy to Josephine, the Emperor only paid the *cantatrice* surreptitious visits; this did not accord with her ambitious temperament, and, becoming enamoured of the celebrated violinist, Rode, she ultimately fled with him from Paris.

⁴ Alan Legge, third Lord Gardner (1810-83).

thinks better. Lord M. went on talking again about what horses could do; and he said, "Brotherton used to say to me, 'They always treat the Cavalry as if it was made of china.'" . . .

Thursday, 4th April.—I asked of Sir Herbert Taylor, who Lord M. thinks was a very good-looking man; of Princess Augusta having told me that there was a coolness between George IV. and Taylor because Taylor refused to tell the Prince of Wales anything about George III.; Lord M. said he thought it very likely; that "Taylor was a very honourable man; but I don't think he was a very clever man." . . .

Saturday, 6th April.—Talked of the news from France not being very comfortable¹; Lord M. said the opening of the Chambers didn't seem at all pleasant; "they seemed rather to dread disturbance." I asked Lord M. did he think the King might have managed it better; he replied, "Oh! yes, he might have managed it better; if he had yielded at once to the Majority of the Chambers and done that with good grace." I said Louis Philippe couldn't bear Thiers. "I believe that's at the bottom of it all," said Lord M., but that he thought he couldn't fight against him. We talked of Pozzo's being so *passé*; his saying he preserved the peace of Europe by making the foreign Ambassadors remain at Paris when Charles X. fled; Lord M. said this was true; I said Pozzo told me this some years ago at Kensington, and Lord Holland said he would tell him I recollected it, and that it would please him very much. Talked of Sebastiani being slow and pompous, but Lord M. said clever and clear; of Senft; of Bülow; of the Belgian business; of Alava, his open manner. "That very open honest manner is never to be trusted," said Lord M. Asked Lord M. if he liked my dress, a cherry-coloured silk with a magnificent old

¹ The French elections had taken place on 4th March, and the Molé Ministry were left in a minority. The King sent successively for Soult, Thiers, and De Broglie without success, and on the eve of the meeting of the Chambers was without a ministry. Accordingly on 3rd April a provisional Cabinet was formed, and M. Passy was elected President of the Chamber of Deputies.

lace flounce. "It's very pretty," he said, "I like those bright colours; it's very handsome." The dress I had on the day before, a striped one, he didn't think ugly, but said it was like the pattern of a sofa.

Sunday, 7th April.—Asked Lord M. if he approved of children calling their Parents by their names; he did not, but said all the Greys called Lord and Lady Grey, Charles and Mary¹; "I don't like it," he said, "it's unnatural." "I like respect." He likes Sir, to a father; "I'm for forms; there's no harm in too much respect; there's no danger of there being too much of that *now*." He told an anecdote of Napoleon; when he came on board one of our ships "he saw the Lieut. take off his cap to the Captain, and he (Napoleon) said, 'That's right; I always told my people to do so, and they never would, and depend upon it that's one of the reasons why they'll *never* be a Navy.'" Lord M. told this with much emphasis and earnestness. "There must be a little of that, depend upon it, in society," continued Lord M., "it's quite a mistake to think there's anything humiliating in that." We were seated much as usual; Lord Melbourne sitting near me. He said, "You should see those Indian papers, to see what Auckland's about."² He then talked of the immensity of the undertaking, and I wish I could repeat

¹ It was the practice at that time in certain families, and is so to this day.

² In 1837 Captain Alexander Burnes went as British agent to Cabul to arrange a commercial treaty with the Ameer, Dost Mohammed. The sudden threat of a Persian attack on Herat, led by the Shah, and favoured by Russia, however, entirely altered the aspect of our relations with Afghanistan. Burnes was for confirming our friendly relations with Dost Mohammed, but the Ameer's brother, Kokun Dil Khan, ruler of Candahar, opposed this scheme and advocated friendship with Russia and Persia. See *ante*, Oct. 28, 1838.

Meanwhile, without consulting Burnes, Lord Auckland, instigated by Macnaghten, arranged a treaty with Ranjit Singh, who had seized Cashmir from the Afghans in 1834, whereby it was agreed that by the joint action of British and Sikh troops, Dost Mohammed, the strong usurper, should be deposed, and Shah Sooja, the legitimate but weak claimant of the throne, should be put in his place.

The failure of the Siege of Herat, owing to the skill and bravery of a young English officer, Eldred Pottinger, rendered our interference unnecessary; but Lord Auckland, none the less, carried out his unfortunate policy, which led to the first Afghan War and, in 1841, to the murder of both Burnes and Macnaghten at Cabul.

all he said about it ; he said it was an immense move, and there was going to be a great war ; in fact, he said, it is a struggle between Russia and England, which is to have possession in the East. We depend upon Runjeet Singh, who has always been our friend, and who he says we have no reason to doubt ; but he is very old ; "he has an army of 70,000 disciplined troops," Lord M. said ; "he is a Hindoo and not a Mahomedan, and won't allow any cows to be killed ;" Lord M. said he stipulated in all the Treaties "against the killing of Kine," and that it was impossible to make him alter his mind, and no persuasions of its not being our custom could make him give way. "One can understand the origin of it," said Lord M., "the Cow being the mother of the Calf and giving milk ; I have no doubt that's the origin, and with the Egyptians the same." I spoke to Lord M. of the Grand Duke's coming. "You must be very civil," said Lord M. earnestly ; that the Emperor made so much of the opinion of England and of personal opinion.

Lord M. then talked again of these Indian papers, which he said I couldn't read through. "It's an immense move," said Lord M. "There'll be an immense crisis ; it's coming to a crash in Central Asia ; I dare say it'll be staved off for the present," but must come to something hereafter, to be decided whether England or Russia should reign there ; both pushing from different sides. Talked of Queen Charlotte, whom Lord M. saw first when he was at Eton ; he said she was good-natured. Lord M. said Taylor told him that in the administration of 1806, under Lord Grenville, Queen Charlotte once asked two of the Opposition in to tea ; and the King was exceedingly angry, and sent Taylor to her "saying he hoped such a thing should never happen again."¹ Lord M. said the Queen (Adelaide) was civil to him (Ld. M.). "When I was Secretary of

¹ It was contrary to the practice of the Sovereign at that time to receive members of the Opposition. George III. never spoke to any leading members of the Party opposed to his Government. This practice was first departed from after the illness of the King in 1810.

State I used never to go near her, but used to talk to the Maids of Honour; she complained of that, but it was much better; so I used to go and talk with the girls." Lord M. said the King (William IV.) was always very civil to him. "It was a bitter dose for him to swallow in '35, to have to take us again," said Lord M. He couldn't bear Lord John. "He called him 'that young man,' continued Lord M., "'as for that young man, I don't understand what he means.'"

Tuesday, 9th April.—I observed, the Radicals couldn't gain by turning out the present Ministry, as they couldn't stand themselves. "No, they couldn't stand alone; but they like a general shuffle, as they think they may gain by it," he replied. I observed I thought the Tories couldn't stand. "I don't know," said Lord M., "they are a very powerful party." I said Palmerston told me they weren't at all prepared for Office *now*, and very much divided; "I know he thinks so," said Lord M., "but I think they are less divided." I told Lord M. I heard some people said they meant to make it¹ a general vote of Confidence, which I doubted. "It entirely depends upon what his followers may compel him to do," said Lord M. I asked what Lord John thought about it. "He thinks we shall carry it, and Stanley thinks we shall carry it," said Lord M. So, I said, everybody did but Lord M. Lord M. smiled, and said, "Oh! no, only I can't tell at all."

Wednesday, 10th April.—Talked of the Dance at the Duchess of Gloucester's the night before; of Augusta,² who I said was to go out everywhere, like any other girl; Lord M. said that it was the first time a Princess

¹ In answer to the majority of five in the Lords against Ministers, Lord John Russell moved a vote of approval of their recent policy in Ireland. Sir R. Peel proposed an amendment deprecating any interference with the Peers' prerogatives. Amendment after four nights' debate negatived by 318 to 296.

² Princess Augusta, daughter of the Duke of Cambridge. She married Frederick William, Grand Duke of Mecklenburg-Strelitz. The Grand Duchess is still in enjoyment of excellent health (1914). Her memory is a storehouse of knowledge and of intimate details of the early Victorian Court. She is an excellent correspondent, writing fluently and well, in a singularly clear and firm hand.

of England did such a thing. "I don't think the King (George III.) would have liked that," said Lord M. "If she goes out like any other girl, she runs the risk like other girls of forming attachments," which is very true and very awkward. "She may take a liking to somebody whom she couldn't marry," he added. Talked of Stanley's having refused to take office under Peel, of their being better friends now. "I think Peel is the best of them," said Lord M., but that he didn't know him well, though he had been in office with him in '28, under the Duke of Wellington, for a short time when Lord M. was in Ireland. Talked of Peel's not being much liked¹; Lord M. said, "A very bad manner, a very disagreeable *abord*." He don't think he means to be cross, and says, "that's all *gaucherie*." "Stanley everybody knows," said Lord M., "to be a man of great abilities, but of much indiscretion; and he is extremely unpopular"; "he says things out of place, and that you would feel he shouldn't say; he says just what he should not say." Talked of the Tories being divided between themselves; I said Lord John felt almost certain of a Majority of 20, but I said to Lord M. wouldn't he be satisfied with less? "Oh! yes," he replied; "15 or 16—or 10; I think myself it would be very foolish resigning upon *any* majority." I said they really shouldn't make it too difficult. "I won't," said Lord M.; "if I can keep them up to it."

Sunday, 14th April.—Told Lord M. (what I had already told him at dinner) that my Uncle had written me a cross letter.² I said I was very angry but didn't know if I ought to answer him sharply. Lord M. leant close

¹ It is well known that the Queen and the Prince became devoted to Sir R. Peel. When he died the Queen wrote: "Poor dear Peel is to be buried to-day. The sorrow and grief at his death are most touching, and the country mourns over him as over a Father. Every one seems to have lost a personal friend."

² King Leopold was at this time annoyed with the British Government. "You know from experience," he wrote to the Queen, "that I never ask anything of you. I prefer remaining in the position of having rendered services without wanting any return for it but your affection."—*Letters of Queen Victoria*, vol. i., p. 170.

towards me and said in his kindest manner, "You mustn't get into any controversy; you must waive it, and speak of something else; some allowance must be made for him; I mean you mustn't be angry with him." That he might be anxious for the fate of his family, for Belgium was a new State, her position not settled. "The King has a great many enemies in Europe; that enmity of the Emperor of Russia is no slight thing; it would be a most unequal strife."

Talked of different-coloured damasks, of light blue, and Lord M. said, "I don't like blue, it's an unlucky colour; I don't like a blue gown." Talked of some upholsterers; and Lord M. said, "No English tradesman has any taste"; that when he was Secretary of State (every Secretary of State,¹ he said, used to have a sum to buy plate with, which is done away with now; he was the last who had any)—he went to Garrards to choose some plate, and he said, with the exception of what he bought, everything was shocking; "I said to them, 'Good God! they are infamous!'—so clumping." I asked, had he seen any foreign things which were better?² He said, "No, I'm only saying what is bad,—not praising any other; I have them in my head." We asked, could he give us any designs; that, he said, he could not, "But I've the principles in me," which made us laugh. Some of my plate he admires.

Monday, 15th April.—Talked of some people, and Lord Melbourne said, "An Italian and an English makes the finest animal in the world; it's the mixture of nations that makes the finest specimens of the human race."

Thursday, 18th April.—Lord M. then said, "Now, Ma'am, for this other matter." I felt terrified (foolishly) when it came to the point; too silly of me to be frightened

¹ Secretaries of State and Ambassadors, as well as the Lord Lieutenants of Ireland, were allowed services of gold plate, with the Royal Arms engraved. This plate was the perquisite of the holder of the office.

² The plate by Rundell and Bridge made during the reign of George IV. was, some of it, of fine workmanship. At this period, however, taste deteriorated, and some of the simple plate of the Queen Anne period was "embossed" to suit the rather vulgar taste of the day.

in talking to him. Well, I mustered up courage, and said that my Uncle's great wish—was—that I should marry my Cousin Albert—who was with Stockmar—and that I thought Stockmar might have told him (Ld. M.) so; Lord M. said, No—Stockmar had never mentioned a word; but, that I had said to my Uncle, I could decide nothing until I saw him again. "That's the only way," said Lord M. "How would that be with the Duchess?" he asked. I assured him he need have no fear *whatever* on that score; then he said, "Cousins are not very good things," and "Those Coburgs are not popular abroad; the Russians hate them." I then said, who was there else? We enumerated the various Princes, of whom not one, I said, would do. For myself, I said, at present *my* feeling was quite against ever marrying. "It's a great change in the situation," he said. "It's a very serious thing, both as it concerns the Political effect and your own happiness." I praised Albert very much; said he was younger than me. I said Uncle Ernest pressed me much about it; Lord M. said, if one was to *make* a man for it, one would hardly know what to make; he mustn't be stupid—nor cunning. I said, by all that I heard, Albert would just be the person; Lord M. asked if he wasn't coming; I said, he would come with his elder brother in the autumn. Lord M. thinks his not being the heir, a good thing; he said, he was surprised there was not more anxiety, considering the King of Hanover was the heir. "I think it would be wished for; still I don't think a foreigner would be popular," said Lord M. I observed that marrying a subject was making yourself so much their equal, and brought you so in contact with the whole family. Lord M. quite agreed in this and said, "I don't think it would be liked; there would be such jealousy." I said, why need I marry at all for 3 or 4 years? did he see the necessity? I said I dreaded the thought of marrying; that I was so accustomed to have my own way, that I thought it was 10 to 1 that I shouldn't agree with any body. Lord M. said, "Oh! but you would have it still" (my own way). . . .

Saturday, 20th April.—Received at a $\frac{1}{4}$ to 8 a box from Lord Melbourne containing a note from William Cowper, dated a $\frac{1}{4}$ p. 4 from the House of C., saying *we*¹ had a majority of 22 on Sir Robert Peel's amendment,² and of 218 on Mr. Duncombe's. This was indeed delightful and I feel that I can breathe again. Thank God!

Sunday, 21st April.—Talked of a very angry letter Uncle Leopold had written to Palmerston and which I saw, and which made Lord M. laugh; Uncle says, as this success of the Conference, in dishonouring Belgium, is mainly owing to England, he hopes they will rejoice in their success; Lord M. thought the first part of the letter kind; he saw the Belgians going down to sign the Treaty, and he thought they looked cross and sulky. Lord M. said some allowance must be made, and "if people are made to do what they dislike, you must allow for a little ill-humour."

Talked of Jane Seymour, who Lord M. thinks a bad person, as she supplanted her Mistress, which I said Anne Boleyn did too, and which wasn't their fault. "It's always more the woman's fault than the man's," said Lord M. . . .

Saturday, 4th May.—At $\frac{1}{2}$ p. 1 I went over to the Closet, where I received the Grand Duke,³ who was introduced by Lord Palmerston and accompanied by Count Orloff and Count Pozzo di Borgo. I made the Grand Duke sit down; he is tall with a fine figure, a pleasing open countenance without being handsome, fine blue eyes, a short nose and a pretty mouth with a sweet smile. Lord Palmerston then introduced Prince Henry of Orange, who is a timid young man, very like his eldest brother Prince William.⁴ I then went out into

¹ The Queen identified herself with her Ministers in these early years, and was in a childlike manner a strong political partisan. It must always be borne in mind that she was not twenty, and a girl. When Peel finally came into power, he received equally strong support from his Sovereign.

² See *ante*, April 9.

³ The Hereditary Grand Duke of Russia, afterwards the Emperor Alexander II.

⁴ Prince William married, in June 1839, Sophia, daughter of William I., King of Wurtemberg. The Princess of Orange, mother of the two Princes, was Anna, daughter of the Empress Paul.

the Drawing room, where the Grand Duke presented all his gentlemen.

Lord M. then told me that he had been thinking about this Bishopric of Peterborough, for the Dean,¹ and that as he had not seen him he should consider it a little; that Peterborough was a town very much divided, in which the Bishop had always gone against Lord Fitz-William, and Lord M. fears that the Dean would not have courage to resist the Chapter, and would be carried along by Dr. Turton,² a very clever man. I said Lord M. must do as he thought best. Lehzen handed in a letter at this moment from the Dean, in which he expressed a wish to have this Bishopric and that his feelings were *not* against the Government; Lord M. read the letter and wished to take it with him, but I would not let him do so; he said, "I think by this he wishes to have it very much"; but Lord M. said he wished to consider it a little first; he feels the awkwardness of not doing something for him, as it ought to be, he said, and is expected, and at the same time it would be so very awkward were he to go against us, and Lord M. fears, though his intentions may be the best, that he would be carried away by the Bishop of London.

Sunday, 5th May.—Talked of men being refused, and Lord M. said, "When I was two-and-twenty, I do believe if I had been refused I should have died of it; it would have killed me; I was so very vain." Talked of Orloff, who Lord M. said is "exactly like Henry VIII." I said I thought Henry VIII. was not near so good-natured a man as Orloff. "Oh! he was a very good-natured man," said Lord M., "just read what Dr. Lingard says of him when he first entered life; oh! he was a great man," and added that we owed the Reformation to him. I said his motives for that were not the best; but Lord M. said that didn't signify. Talked of Henry VIII. Lord M.

¹ The Queen's former tutor, Dr. Davys, Dean of Chester.

² Dr. Turton was successively Dean of Peterborough, Dean of Westminster, and Bishop of Ely.

said, "Those women bothered him so." I observed he had ill-treated Catherine of Aragon so. "That was his conscience," said Lord M. funnily; "he thought he was living in a state of concubinage, not of marriage." Talked of Queen Elizabeth and Queen Mary. "Queen Elizabeth was quite Henry VIII.'s daughter," said Lord M., and he never intended she should reign. Talked of Queen Mary and her horrid cruelty. "She thought that was quite right," said Lord M., "and Edward VI. would have done quite the same on his side; he would have killed her; there are letters which show that."

Tuesday, 7th May.—I awoke at $\frac{1}{2}$ p. 8—and heard from Lord Surrey that we had only had a majority of 5!¹ This struck to my heart and I felt dreadfully anxious. Got up; heard from Lord John that we had only had a majority of 5; 294 against 289; and that they must have a Cabinet to decide what was to be done. I wrote to Lord Melbourne expressing my anxiety to hear from him; my box had scarcely gone before I received a letter from Lord Melbourne in which he stated what had taken place, that he had not yet heard from Lord John, but that he feared they had no other alternative—can *I write it*—but to resign; and he concluded his letter in this *beautiful* way:—"Lord Melbourne is certain that Your Majesty will not deem him too presuming if he expresses his fear that this decision will be both painful and embarrassing to Your Majesty, but Your Majesty will meet this crisis with that firmness which belongs to your character, and with that rectitude and sincerity which will carry Your Majesty through all difficulties. It will also be greatly painful for Lord Melbourne to quit the service of a Mistress who has treated him with such unvarying kindness and unlimited confidence, but in whatever station he may be placed he will always feel the deepest anxiety for Your Majesty's interests and happiness and

¹ On Bill for suspending the Constitution of Jamaica caused by the opposition of the Jamaica Assembly to the acts of the Imperial Parliament. The division was actually on the question of Sir R. Peel's motion, "That the Speaker do now leave the chair," at the end of the Jamaica Constitution debate.

will do the utmost in his power to promote and secure them."

At 10 m. p. 12 came Lord Melbourne and stayed with me till 25 m. to 1. It was some minutes before I could muster up courage to go in. "You will not forsake me." I held his hand for a little while, unable to leave go; and he gave me such a look of kindness, pity and affection, and could hardly utter for tears, "Oh! no," in such a touching voice. We then sat down as usual, and I strove to calm myself. He said, "I was afraid this would happen." There was a Warrant appointing an Inquiry into the Duchy of Cornwall which he begged me to sign; which I did. "I'm afraid we can do nothing else," he said (but resign). I said I feared he was right. "But we shall see what they say at the Cabinet; I'll put down on paper the course I think you ought to pursue," which I begged he would. He told me when he would come after the Cabinet. Wrote my journal. At 3 came Lord John, who said they had been discussing the whole in the Cabinet very much, but that they could come to no other determination but to resign; and he then thanked me for my kindness—which quite set me off crying, and I said it was a terrible thing for me. He seemed much grieved; he said he hardly expected it, and that the Tories had behaved very ill, and made every exertion to arrive at this end.

At a $\frac{1}{4}$ p. 3 Lord Melbourne came to me and stayed with me till $\frac{1}{2}$ p. 4. He said, "Lord John has communicated to you the results of the Cabinet," which I said he had; "and I have desired John Russell to make out the Bishop of Peterborough directly,"¹ for which I thanked Lord M. very much, as I said I could not bear to think he should owe it to the others. "And you'll tell the Baroness to write to him to tell him so." And he then said he wished to make either Mr. Cowper or Mr. Anson this Commissioner at Greenwich. Lord Melbourne then said, pulling a paper out of his pocket,

¹ This was the elevation of Dr. Davys to the See of Peterborough.

"I have written down what I think you should do." He then read to me what he had written down for me.¹ The conclusion of the paper was, "Your Majesty had better express your hope that none of Your Majesty's Household, except those who are engaged in Politics, may be removed." Lord Melbourne said, "I think you might ask him for that." I quite agreed in this and we enumerated who those were ;—"Unless you wish to get rid of any," which I said I did not. Talked of my great dislike to some of these people—Sir H. Hardinge—Graham—Peel.² "I don't know who they'll put about you," he said. I said it was so hard to have people forced upon you whom you disliked ; Lord M. said, "It is very hard, but it can't be helped." I said I thought Lord John was very low. "He was melancholy at seeing you melancholy," said Lord M. Lord M. asked if I had put off the Levée, which I wrote to ask him if I might, and I said I had. The Ball we could reflect about. Lord M. was going to announce his resignation in the House of Lords. I said I was not going out, and I wished Lord M. would come to me. "Yes, Ma'am, I will," he said ; and then after a pause he added, "I don't think it would be right" ; he said it would be observed ; I pressed him and said it would not be, and if he would come after dinner ; he said it wouldn't do ; and "I'm going to dine at Lady Holland's." But I said he must come and see me. "Oh ! yes," he replied, "only not while these negotiations are going on." I said, "For I shall feel quite forsaken," at which he gave me such a look of grief and feeling, and was much affected. He said, "God bless you, Ma'am," and kissed my hand. He said, "I'll come to see you to-morrow morning before the Duke comes," and we settled at 11. I said I would appoint the Duke at one, as Lord M. did not wish to meet him. The whole would be known all over the town in a short time, he said. He then got up, and we shook hands again and he kissed my

¹ See the memorandum in *The Letters of Queen Victoria*, Vol. I.

² All these "dislikes" evaporated when the Queen ultimately became acquainted with her Tory Ministers.

hand, he said; "God bless you, Ma'am." I fear I may have left out much and not placed all rightly; but so much has taken place before I have been able to write this account that I am quite confused. I was in a dreadful state of grief. I received two most kind letters from Lord Melbourne, in the 1st of which he said, "Lord Melbourne felt his attendance upon Your Majesty to be at once the greatest honour and pleasure of his life, and Your Majesty may believe that he will most severely and deeply feel the change." How kind! He further adds that "nothing ever gave him more pain" than to have to tell me he couldn't come to me; but that it was absolutely necessary not to give occasion to any jealousy or suspicion. I wrote once more to him. Wrote one line to the Duke of Wellington to request him to come.

Wednesday, 8th May.—Talked of the Duke of W.'s being so deaf; and Lord M. said, "Mind the Duke understands what you say." "You must try and get over your dislike for Peel," he said, "he's a close, stiff man."¹ Talked of John Russell's being so low. "He was very much affected at seeing you," replied Lord M. "I met him coming away. Rice says he's glad." "I think the Chancellor feels it. Palmerston will feel it, he likes his business so much." I then (10 m. to 1) went over to the Yellow Closet where I found the Duke of Wellington, who was kind; he remained till 10 m. p. 1. Wrote to Sir Robert Peel to come immediately—who came at 20 m. p. 2 and stayed till 20 m. to 3. I saw him also in the Closet. He was also in full dress. The best account I can give of these interviews is in the annexed copy of a letter I wrote to my kind friend Lord Melbourne.²

¹ Melbourne had never lost a chance of trying to create good feeling between the Queen and Sir R. Peel. On one occasion, at a Court Ball, he noticed that Peel stood proudly aloof, and going up to him he whispered with great earnestness, "For God's sake go and speak to the Queen." Peel, however, made no move. An episode characteristic of both men.

² This letter has already been printed (*Letters of Queen Victoria*, Vol. I. p. 198).

BUCKINGHAM PALACE,
8th May, 1839.

The Queen told Lord Melbourne she would give him an account of what passed, which she is *very* anxious to do. She saw the Duke for about 20 minutes; the Queen said she supposed he knew why she sent for him, upon which the Duke said, No, he had no idea. The Queen then said that she had had the greatest confidence in her late Ministry, and had parted with them with the greatest reluctance; upon which the Duke observed that he could assure me no one felt more pain in hearing the announcement of their resignation than he did, and that he was deeply grieved at it. The Queen then continued, that as his party had been instrumental in removing them, she must look to him to form a new Government. The Duke answered that he had no power whatever in the House of Commons, "that if he was to say black was white¹ they would say it was not," and that he advised me to send for Sir Robert Peel, in whom I could place confidence, and who was a gentleman and a man of honour and integrity. The Queen then said she hoped he would at all events have a place in the new Cabinet. The Duke at first rather refused, and said he was so deaf, and so old and unfit for any discussion, that if he were to consult his own feelings he would rather not do it, and remain quite aloof; but that as he was very anxious to do anything that would tend to the Queen's comfort, and would do everything and at all times that could be of use to the Queen, and therefore if she and her Prime Minister urged his accepting office, he would. The Queen said she had more confidence in him than in any of the others of his party. The Queen then mentioned the subject of the Household and of those who were not in Parliament. The Duke did not give any decisive answer about it, but advised the Queen not to begin with conditions of this sort, and wait till the matter was proposed. The Queen then said that she felt certain he

¹ *Sic*: an obvious mistake for "black was black."



THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON AND SIR ROBERT PEELE

From the picture by F. Winterhalter in the possession of His Majesty the King

would understand the great friendship she had for Lord Melbourne, who had been to her quite a parent, and the Duke said no one felt and knew that better than he did, and that no one could still be of greater use to the Queen than Lord Melbourne. The Duke spoke of his personal friendship for Lord Melbourne, and that he hoped I knew that he had often done all he could to help your Government. The Queen then mentioned her intention to prove her great *fairness* to her new Government in telling them, that they might know there was no unfair dealing, that I meant to see you often as a friend, as I owed *so* much to you. The Duke said he quite understood it, and knew I would not exercise this to weaken the Government, and that he would take my part about it, and felt for me. He was very kind, and said he called it "a misfortune" that you had all left me.

The Queen wrote to Peel, who came after 2, embarrassed and put out. The Queen repeated what she had said to the Duke about her former Government, and asked Sir Robert to form a new Ministry. He does not seem sanguine; says entering the Government in a minority is very difficult; he felt unequal to the task, and far from exulting in what had happened, as he knew what pain it must give me; he quite approved that the Duke should take office, and saw the importance of it; meant to offer him the post of Secretary for Foreign Affairs, and if he refused, Lord Aberdeen; Lord Lyndhurst, Chancellor; hoped to secure Stanley and Graham; Goulburn to be the candidate for the Speaker's chair; he expects a severe conflict then, and if he should be beat must either resign or dissolve Parliament. Before this the Queen said how much she was against a dissolution, in which he quite agreed, but of course wished no conditions should be made; he felt the task arduous, and that he would require me to demonstrate (*a certain* degree, if *any*, I can only feel) confidence in the Government, and that my Household would be one of the marks of that. The Queen mentioned the same thing about her Household, to which he at present would give no answer, but

said nothing should be done without my knowledge or approbation. He repeated his surprise at the course you had all taken in resigning, which he did not expect. The Queen talked of her great friendship for, and gratitude to, Lord Melbourne, and repeated what she had said to the Duke, in which Peel agreed; but he is such a cold odd man she can't make out what he means. He said he couldn't expect me to have the confidence in him I had in you (and which he never can have), as he has not deserved it. My impression is, he is not *happy* and sanguine. He comes to me to-morrow at one to report progress in his formation of the new Government. The Queen don't like his manner after—oh! how different, how dreadfully so, to that frank, open, natural and most kind, warm manner of Lord Melbourne. The Duke I like by far better than Peel. The Queen trusts Lord Melbourne will excuse this long letter, but she was so anxious he should know all. The Queen was very much collected, civil and high, and betrayed no agitation during these two trying Audiences. But afterwards again *all* gave way. She feels Lord Melbourne will understand it, amongst enemies to those she most relied on and most esteemed; but what is worst of all is the being deprived of seeing Lord Melbourne as she used to do.

Thursday, 9th May.—Wrote to Lord Melbourne; got such a kind delightful long letter from him in answer to my two letters of the day before, approving of my conduct and giving me the most noble, impartial and kind advice as to what I was to do,—begging me not to mind Sir Robert's manner.¹ He said I should urge strongly to keep those of my people about me, who were not in Parliament; he was well, he said; had been at this Scotch dinner of about 40 or 50 members; O'Connell there, and all the speeches very satisfactory. I wrote to him again; signed; wrote my journal. Heard from Lord Melbourne again, about the Members of the House—

¹ Peel's manner during his interviews with the Queen was said to have been peremptory and harsh.

hold who were not in Parliament, in which letter he said they had never been removed at any time before,¹ and that if I said he (Sir R. Peel) pressed me harder than any Sovereign ever had been pressed before,—he thought Sir Robert couldn't refuse. Wrote my journal. At a little after 1 I went over to the Yellow Closet, where I received Sir Robert Peel, who remained till a little before 2. The annexed copy of a note which I wrote in a great hurry to Lord M. will show what took place²:

BUCKINGHAM PALACE,
9th May, 1839.

The Queen writes one line to prepare Lord Melbourne for what *may* happen in a very few hours. Sir Robert has behaved very ill, he insisted on my giving up my Ladies, to which I replied that I *never* would consent, and I never saw a man so frightened; he said he must go to the Duke of Wellington and consult with him, when both would return—and he said this must suspend all further proceedings, and he asked if I would be ready to receive a decision, which I said I would; he was quite perturbed. I said, besides many other things, that if he or the Duke of W. had been at the head of the Government when I came to the Throne, perhaps there might have been a *few* more Tory Ladies, but that then if you had come into office you would *never* have *dreamt* of changing them. I was calm but very decided, and I think you would have been pleased to see my composure

¹ Lord Melbourne, in after-years, blamed himself for not having warned the Queen, and prepared her mind for extensive changes in her Household. There was no doubt also some misapprehension as to the extent of Peel's requirement. Sixty years later, in a conversation at Osborne with Sir Arthur Bigge (now Lord Stamfordham), the Queen said, "I was very young then, and perhaps I should act differently if it was all to be done again." In anticipation of the change of Government in 1841, after confidential communications between Mr. Anson and Sir Robert Peel, the Queen waived her right to appoint great officers of State, and also (if in Parliament) lords-in waiting, equerries and grooms-in-waiting. She also announced that she would mention to the Prime Minister before appointment the names of ladies of the bedchamber, but not those of the maids of honour or women of the bedchamber.

² Already printed (*Letters of Queen Victoria*, vol. i. p. 204).

and great firmness. Keep yourself in readiness, for you may soon be wanted.

Saw Lord Howick. At $\frac{1}{2}$ p. 2 I saw the Duke of Wellington. I remained firm, and he told Sir Robert that I remained firm. I then saw Sir Robert Peel, who stopped a few minutes with me; he said he must consult those (of which I annex a List) who he had named; and he said he would return in 2 or 3 hours with the result, which I said I should await.

First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer

Sir Robert Peel, Bart.

Secretary for Foreign Affairs

The Duke of Wellington

Secretary for the Home Department

Sir James Graham

Secretary for the Colonies

Lord Stanley

Lord Chancellor

Lord Lyndhurst

President of the Board of Control

Lord Ellenborough

Secretary at War

Sir Henry Hardinge

Lord Lieut. of Ireland

Earl de Grey

Received a letter from Lord M. in answer to my 1st.; and also to my 2nd, greatly astonished. Wrote to him again and my journal. At 10 m. p. 5 Sir Robert Peel returned, and said that he had consulted with those who were (*to have been*) his Colleagues, and that they agreed that with the probability of being beat the first night about the Speaker, and beginning with a Minority in the House of Commons, that unless there was *some* (I ask *all*; the *Officers of State* and *Lords* I gave up) demonstration of my confidence, and if I retained all my Ladies, "they agreed unanimously they could not go on!" I replied I would reflect; that I felt certain I should not change my mind, but that I should not do anything in a hurry and would write him my decision either that evening or the next morning; he said meanwhile he would suspend all further

proceedings. This was *quite* wonderful! The Ladies his only support!! What an admission of weakness! I wrote to Lord Melbourne (from whom I received another note) and begged him to come as soon as possible. Wrote my journal.

At $\frac{1}{2}$ p. 6 came my dear and excellent Lord Melbourne, who stayed with me till 10 m. p. 7. It was a true and real and unexpected happiness to see him again after so much anxiety. I began by giving him a detailed account of the whole Proceeding, which I shall state here as briefly as I can. I first related again what took place in the 2 first Interviews, and when I said that the Duke said he had assisted my Government often very much, Lord M. said, "Well, that's true enough, but the Duke did all he could about this vote." Well, then, I said, when Sir Robert Peel came this morning, he began first about the Ministry; I consented, though I said I might have my personal feelings about Lord Lyndhurst and Lord Aberdeen,¹ but that I would suppress every personal feeling and would be quite fair. Lord M. here observed, "You did say that." I then proceeded that I repeated that I wished to retain about me those who were not in Parliament; and Sir Robert *pretended* that I had the preceding day expressed a wish to keep about me those who *were* in Parliament; I mentioned my wish to have Lord Liverpool, to which he readily acceded, saying he would offer him the place of Lord Steward or of Lord-in-Waiting; he then suggested my having Lord Ashley, which I said I should like, as Treasurer and Comptroller. Soon after this, Sir Robert said, "Now about the Ladies,"—upon which I said I could *not* give up *any* of my Ladies, and never had imagined such a thing; he asked if I meant to retain *all*; *all*, I said; the Mistress of the Robes and the Ladies of the Bedchamber? he asked. I replied *all*; for he said they were the Wives of the Opponents of the Government; mentioning Lady Normanby in particular, as one of the late Ministers' wives. I said that would not interfere, I never talked

¹ The Queen became much attached to Lord Aberdeen.

Politics with them, and that they were related, many of them, to Tories; and I enumerated those of my Bedchamber Women and Maids of Honour; upon which he said he didn't mean *all* the Bedchamber Women and *all* the Maids of Honour, he meant the Mistress of the Robes and the Ladies of the Bedchamber,—to which I replied *they* were of more consequence than the others, and I could *not* consent, and that it had never been done before; he said I was a Queen Regnant, and that made the difference; not here, I said,—and I maintained my right. Sir Robert then urged upon public grounds only,—but I said here I could not consent; he then begged to be allowed to consult with the Duke upon such an important matter; I expressed a wish also to see the Duke if Sir Robert approved, which he said he did,—and that he would return with the Duke—if I would then be prepared for the decision,—which I said I would. Well, I said, that the Duke and Sir Robert returned soon, and I first saw the Duke, who first talked of his being ready to take the post of Secretary for F. Affairs, which I had pressed Peel to urge upon him (the Duke having first wished to be in the Cabinet without accepting office), and the Duke said, "I'm able to do anything"—for I asked him if it would not be too much for him. Then I told the Duke that I had "been very well satisfied with Sir Robert yesterday,"—and asked the Duke if Sir Robert had told him what had passed about the Ladies; he said he had, and I then repeated all my arguments, and the Duke his,—but the Duke and Sir Robert differed considerably on 2 points; the Duke said the *opinions* of the Ladies were nothing, but that it was the *principle* whether the Minister could remove the Ladies or not; and that he had understood it was stated, in the Civil List Bill, "that the *Ladies were instead of the Lords*," which is quite false, and I told the Duke that there were not 12 Lords, as the expense *with* the Ladies would have been too great. Lord M. said, "There you had the better of him, and what did he say?" Not much, I replied. I repeated many of my arguments, all which pleased Lord M. and

which he agreed to; amongst others—that I said to the Duke, was Sir Robert so weak that *even* the Ladies must be of his opinion? The Duke denied that. The Duke then took my decision to Sir Robert, who was waiting in the next room; after a few minutes Sir Robert returned—and I have already related what then took place. I also told Lord M. that I said to Sir Robert that as I had wished him to be frank, he would wish me to be so; and I therefore said that he must make allowance for my feelings, as I had been always brought up in very strong feelings on the other (Whig) side, and that my feelings had always been very strongly with my Government, therefore my feelings could not easily change, though I might be fair; and Lord M. approved all, and saw and said I could not do otherwise. I acted quite alone, I said, and feared I might have embarrassed the Government. “I must summon the Cabinet,” said Lord M., “at once; it may have very serious consequences; if we can’t go on with this House of Commons, we may have to dissolve Parliament, and we don’t know if we may get as good a House of Commons.”

I received the following letter from Lord M., written at one o’clock:—“Lord Melbourne presents his humble duty to Your Majesty. The Cabinet has sate until now and after much discussion advises Your Majesty to return the following answer to Sir Robert Peel: ‘The Queen having considered the proposal made to her yesterday by Sir Robert Peel to remove the Ladies of her Bed-chamber cannot consent to adopt a course which she conceives to be contrary to usage and repugnant to her feelings.’” I immediately wrote a few lines in answer to Lord Melbourne, and copied the letter to Sir R. Peel.

Friday, 10th May.—At 7 m. to 2 Lord Melbourne came to me and stayed with me till 10 m. to 3. He was well; rode here, and asked how I was. I placed in his hands Sir Robert Peel’s answer which he read. He started at one part where he says “some changes,”—but some or all, I said were the same,—and Lord M. said, “I must submit this to the Cabinet.” Lord M. showed me a letter

from Lord Grey about it,—a good deal alarmed, thinking I was right, and yet half doubtful; one from Rice dreadfully frightened and wishing the Whig Ladies should resign; and one from Lansdowne wishing to state that the Ladies would have resigned. Lord M. had also seen the Duke of Richmond; and Lord M. said we might be beat; I said I never would yield; and would never apply to Peel again. Lord M. said, "You are for standing out, then?" I said certainly. I asked how the Cabinet felt; John Russell strongly for standing out, he said; Duncannon very much so; Holland, Lord Minto, Hobhouse, the Chancellor—all for standing out, Thomson too, and Normanby also; Rice and Howick alarmed."¹

Saturday, 11th May.—Lord M. then said, pulling a paper out of his pocket, "Now, Ma'am, for what we have been about; we've had a long sitting of it; from $\frac{1}{2}$ p. 12 till now" (5). "This is what you've probably never seen, and which is only done on great occasions, a Cabinet Minute." He then read it to me, and was very much affected indeed in reading the part, that they consented to retain office and would support me. I grasped his hand in both mine with real feelings of the greatest gratitude; and he then read what was Lord Howick's opinion, who differs from them, but agrees in their endeavours to support me.

PRESENT

The Lord Chancellor	The Lord John Russell
The Lord President	The Viscount Palmerston
The Lord Privy Seal	The Viscount Howick
Viscount Melbourne	The Viscount Morpeth
The Marquis of Normanby	Sir John Hobhouse, Bart.
The Earl of Minto	The Chancellor of the Ex-
The Chancellor of the	chequer
Duchy of Lancaster	Mr. Thomson

¹ But afterwards, when the Queen's letters to Melbourne of 8th and 9th May were read, Lord Broughton (Hobhouse) records that their reading "gave a new spirit to our waverers, and even Howick and Rice owned that it was impossible to abandon such a Queen and such a woman." The "woman" was only nineteen years old.

Her Majesty's confidential servants having taken into consideration the letter addressed by Her Majesty to Sir Robert Peel on the 10th of May, and the reply of Sir Robert Peel on the same day, are of opinion that for the purpose of giving to an administration that character of efficiency and stability and these . . .¹ of the constitutional support of the Crown which are required to enable it to act usefully for the public service, it is reasonable that the great offices of the Court and the situations in the Household held by members of either House of Parliament should be included in the habitual arrangements made on a change of administration; but they are not of opinion that a similar principle should be applied or extended to the offices held by Ladies in Her Majesty's Household. Her Majesty's confidential servants are therefore prepared to support Her Majesty in refusing to assent to the removal of the Ladies of her Household which Her Majesty conceived to be contrary to usage and which is repugnant to her feelings, and are prepared to continue in their offices on these grounds.

Lord M. said, "That is if Your Majesty thinks proper"; which of course I did, and felt most grateful; he said he would give me a copy of it, when he had copied it. "You know the success of this is doubtful," said Lord M.; I said I felt that, but that I could not apply to Peel again; Lord M. said it would be difficult to pass him over. Lord M. said, "If I had thought that this demand would be made, I would have told you to ask Sir Robert to put his proposition down in writing"; I went and fetched Sir Robert's letter and proved to Lord M. that though Sir Robert *might* deny it, he had stated "the Chief Appointments" of the Ladies, which makes us quite safe. I repeated that I maintained I had the power about my Ladies, else what power had I left!—in which Lord M. agreed.

Sunday, 12th May.—At 12 I went to the Chapel Royal and came back at a $\frac{1}{4}$ p. 2. I was loudly cheered both

¹ In Lord Melbourne's original paper, the words appear to be "*those marks*."

going and returning, and expressions of, "The Queen for ever," "God bless Your Majesty," "Bravo," were heard.¹ Talked of my having expressed a wish to Peel that Ireland should be very mildly governed; of Peel's not being sanguine from the beginning. I asked Lord M. if he thought John Russell liked to be out; Lord M. said, "I think he is rather tired, but I don't think he would have liked to have been out *long*"; Palmerston is the most ingenuous about it; he says, "I don't at all conceal that I think it a great bore to go out; I like power, I think power very pleasant"; and I said Palmerston did it so well, and that how could the Duke of Wellington ever have done it? "They tell me that he never could have done it. It would only be putting it off for a step, for another man (of his Party) couldn't do it; you must come to him," said Lord M. "I myself shouldn't object to leave the Ballot an open question like the Corn Laws." I said, couldn't John Russell do that? "I don't well see how he could," Lord M. replied. I said to Lord M., what he had once told me, that he wasn't very much for the Reform Bill. "I wasn't very much for it," he said, "I saw it was unavoidable. I was for standing firm and doing nothing at all," he said; as he knew when once begun you must go on.

Talked of how they bury people at Venice in some horrid way; Lord M. said, "I'm not well acquainted with the dead; I hate to look on the dead; I like what is joyous and agreeable; I can't bear what's disagreeable and melancholy." He said, "A Troubadour said once, 'I don't wish to go to Heaven where the Priests and the Monks are; I wish to go where the Ladies and the Troubadours are.'" I then told him Mamma had said Lord M. came too often to me; upon which Lord M. said, "The Duke of Wellington said that was right; and that if he was me, he would establish himself in the Palace," which I said I wished he would. We then talked for some time about Cookery, and Lord M. made us laugh very much about it. "Oh! the French are the first

¹ The Queen, at this time, was popular in the streets, but not in the "salons."

nation in the world ; we ought to be eternally grateful to them," he said ; for that the art of preparing food was the 1st thing in the world ; although the French cookery wasn't as good as it used to be. Lord M. talked of when all this was introduced into France. " Francis I. was the first who introduced that gaiety ; he was the first king who had that gay liberty, which has since been so much practised," he said, snapping his fingers and laughing. He also made us laugh about Confectioners, and praised mine.

He then talked of our Army going up to Kandahar, and having gone so prosperously ; and he said the Boatmen who brought them along the river, asked them, " Where are you going to ? " and when they said to Kandahar, they said, " God ! we'll go with you ; you pay us, and you don't murder, you don't pillage ! God ! we'll go with you ! "

After dinner, when Lord Melbourne came into the room, he remained talking with me some time before we sat down, near the chimney. Talked of Sir Robert Peel, and my feeling so happy. " You mustn't be sure that you have escaped yet," he said. Lord M. said, " You must remember that he (Peel) is a man who is not accustomed to talk to Kings ; a man of quite a different calibre ; it's not like me ; I've been brought up with Kings and Princes. I know the whole Family, and know exactly what to say to them ; now he has not that ease, and probably you were not at your ease." These are *nearly* his words I think.

We were seated much as usual, Lord Melbourne sitting near me. He was very much excited the whole evening, talking to himself, and pulling his hair about, which always makes him look so much handsomer. He talked of India, its going on so well, our coming too close (Russia and England), and we talked over what he has often said to me before, of which (if 2 Nations were to govern the World) should be master ; and that he meant to talk to Orloff about it before he went. Lord M. asked if I could read the Minute, which I said I could perfectly. " I used to write a very ugly hand," he said, " but it used to be a very legible hand ; and now I've got to write a

hand that almost nobody can read ; what I judge from is, that when I read it over myself I can't read it, and so I think if I can't read it nobody else can." Talked of handwriting ; his brother's ; mine ; and he said, " The letter you wrote me this morning was beautifully written." I caught his eye when he was frowning very much, and he smiled and rubbed his forehead and said, " Never mind, I was only knitting my brows ; I know it looks tremendous," but that one shouldn't judge from expression, that very susceptible people constantly changed expression. I said he was very absent sometimes ; " Notoriously so," he said, " particularly when I've a great deal to do."

Talked of Lord Howe's¹ having been allowed to remain, though many wished Lord M. to remove him, but he did not wish it. Lord M. said, one day at Windsor Howe took Lord M. by the arm, led him into the Gallery, and said, " I must vote against you," upon the Irish Bill. "' God ! ' I said, ' don't,' " continued Lord Melbourne, "' stay away ' ; ' I must,' he said, ' I've spoken so strongly against it in Leicestershire, I never can show my face at Gopsal again if I don't,' he said ; ' Well then,' I said, ' go to the House of Lords, sit on one of the back benches, and vote against us.' He went to the House of Lords, voted against us, and never a word was said about it." Lord M. thought this frank, for he offered to resign, which he says it would have been justifiable to have made him do, but which he (Ld. M.) didn't like to do. " I haven't such a bad opinion of Howe," he said ; " he's a wicked hypocrite,"—which made me laugh.

Monday, 13th May.—Talked of John Russell's having said he wished to resign. Lord M. said, " That would be ruin to us, it would quite ruin the character of the Government." Lord M. had heard from the Duke of W., who did not intend saying anything unless it was begun by others ; and consequently Lord M. did not intend either saying anything. Talked of Sir Robert Peel ; of

¹ Lord Chamberlain to Queen Adelaide.

what John Russell meant to say; of the lies that were being told of the whole affair. The House of Lords immensely full, Lord M. said. "Must say something one day," he said, "having taken my seat without saying anything after having resigned." He did so on Friday too. "Such a thing never happened before," he said. "He (Peel) spoke very highly of Your Majesty," said Lord M. "He said, nothing could be more gracious than your manner, nor more feeling than the manner in which you mentioned your late Government, and nothing more constitutional than the manner" in which I gave way about the Government. "I hear John had plenty of precedents," continued Lord M., "in the reign of Queen Anne"; and he mentioned Lady Sunderland, who he said was very violent and "known by the name of the little Whig"; she was one of the Duke of Marlborough's daughters.

Lord Uxbridge had heard part of Peel's speech, and said one part was very vulgar!! I got a box from Lord John after dinner with the following account:—"Lord John Russell has the honour to report that he this day made his statement to the House in answer to Sir Robert Peel. Sir Robert Peel made a skilful and not unfair statement. He however spoke only of his intention of changing some of the Ladies of the Bedchamber. But he did not say that he had made this intention clear to Your Majesty; only that he had so arranged the matter with his political friends. The popular impression is greatly in favour of the course pursued by Your Majesty." I sent this down to Lord Melbourne, and when he came into the drawing-room I asked him if he had seen it, and he said, "That's very satisfactory."

Thursday, 16th May.—I said he had a much better opinion of Peel than I had. "You must remember he is so very reserved," said Lord M. Lord M. said, "Nobody ever gave up the Household so completely as William IV."¹ I said I did also. "I think you were quite right

¹ William IV. allowed his Ministers a very free hand in the selection of his "official" Household.

to reserve your ladies," added Lord M. He said, "that Lord Grey was accused of having said in 1812 that he would ride roughshod through Carlton House; he swears he never said it, but it made a great effect at the time." He meant by that, changing the whole Household, Lord Melbourne said. When Lord Grenville and Mr. Fox came in, in 1806, which they did as there was nobody else, and George III. was obliged to take them "very much against his will, I believe," Lord M. continued, "they asked the King" for some of the Household to be given up as a mark of confidence, and "he scratched out the name of Lord Sandwich, Master of the Buckhounds; only one." "There was some delicacy in that," said L. M., "as Lord Sandwich left Mr. Fox, and the King knew he would be the one most agreeable for them to remove." I said Peel never came up to me at Gloucester House. "Stupid man," said Lord M. "When I came to the Duchess of Gloucester's," continued Lord M., "I met Lord Fitzgerald, whom I know very well, and I took him by the arm and said to him, 'Now mind Peel goes up to the Queen,' and he nodded his head as if to say, 'I know what you mean.'" Lord M. thought it "natural too." "I never went near Queen Adelaide, and I believe she was very much annoyed at it. I used to go chattering with the Maids of Honour," continued Lord M., "it's much pleasanter." . . .

Wednesday, 22nd May.—Talked of the Duke of Wellington's and Peel's not having been at the Levée, which I thought very rude. Lord M. said, "I don't think they mean that"; I replied that was all very well for Lord M., who was so kind and good, not to think people could *mean* things, but that there were very few like him (Ld. M.). "I don't like you to have those feelings," he said kindly. I said it was so foolish of Peel to act in this way, as by doing so he has made me dislike him. "That's what his Party feels," said Lord M., and he said it was very ill-judged of him, as he saw there was a want of confidence on my part, to distrust me, and thus make me distrust him still more.

Talked of Peel's trying to force all. "The only way to gain confidence," said Lord M., "is not to distrust the other person; you must show confidence to gain it; that was how I acted with the late King, and he was very fair; he once or twice did things which embarrassed us a good deal, but upon the whole he was very fair." Talked of what I should say to the Bishops next day, and he promised to write something down for me. Talked of the late King's having made such long speeches so often, "which got the Government into great difficulties," Lord M. said. . . .

Friday, 24th May.—This day I *go out of my* TEENS and become 20! It sounds so strange to me! I have much to be thankful for; and I feel I owe more to *two* people than I can ever repay! my dear Lehzen, and my dear excellent Lord Melbourne! I pray Heaven to preserve them in health and strength for *many, many* years to come, and that Lord Melbourne may remain at the Head of Affairs; not only for my own happiness and prosperity, but for that of the whole Country and of all Europe; and lastly that I may become every day less unworthy of my high station! I said John Russell had been with me, and in very good humour; Peel had sent an excuse, saying he was in the country; Lord M. agreed with me he ought to have come. I said the Duke had been very civil to me at the Drawing-room.

WINDSOR, *Monday, 27th May.*—We dined in St. George's Hall, which looked beautiful. The Grand-Duke¹ led me in and I sat between him and Prince Henry.² I really am quite in love with the Grand-Duke; he is a dear, delightful young man. At about a little after 10, we went into the red drawing-room, (next the dining-room), where an Orchestra was raised in which Weippert and his band were stationed; and dancing began. At a little after 12 we went into the dining-room for supper; after supper they danced a Mazurka for $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour, I should think nearly; the Grand-Duke asked me to take a turn, which I did (never having done it before) and

¹ Of Russia.

² Of the Netherlands.

which is very pleasant; the Grand-Duke is so very strong, that in running round, you must follow quickly, and after that you are whisked round like in a Valse, which is very pleasant. I also had a turn with Prince Henry; I then danced a quadrille with Patkul, which was followed by a Valse. After this we danced (what I had never even seen before) the "Grossvater" or "Rerraut," and which is excessively amusing; I danced with the Grand-Duke, and we had such fun and laughter; Patkul and the Countess Potoska led the way. It begins with a solemn walk round the room, which also follows each figure; one figure, in which the lady and gentleman run down holding their pocket-handkerchief by each end, and letting the ladies on one side go under it, and the gentlemen jump over it, is too funny. This concluded our little Ball at near 2 o'clock. I never enjoyed myself more. We were all so merry.

Tuesday, 28th May.—The Grand-Duke talked of his very fine reception here, and said he would never forget it. "Ce ne sont pas seulement des paroles, je vous assure, Madame," he said, but that it was what he felt, and that he never would forget these days here, which I'm sure I shall never also, for I really love this amiable and dear young man, who has such a sweet smile. I talked to Lord Melbourne of St. George's Hall, which he admired very much. . . . He said, "I don't think the Grand-Duke looks well; he looks rather livid." I talked often with Lord Melbourne. I pointed out Countess Potoska as having £30,000 a year, which he wouldn't believe. He observed upon the great length of the petticoats, which he said gave a suspicion that the feet and ankles are not quite right. He said, "I don't like blue gowns; it's an unlucky colour; no girl ever marries who wears a blue gown."

Wednesday, 29th May.—Talked of the Grand-Duke; of Bariatinsky dancing with that ball in his body, which Lord M. said would kill him some day; of the Russians smoking. . . . Talked of their wearing no whiskers, which Lord M. said was because they thought it was

French, and they hated the French; that Orloff said we should one day see Louis Philippe deposed as easily as he had been put on the throne; Lord M. believes there is a good deal of personality in it; that the Emperor says he knows something from his brother Alexander. Talked of Orloff, and Lord M. said Orloff had said when they made him a doctor, at Oxford, he felt as if a new train of ideas filled his mind, as if the spirit had come upon him. . . . Lord M. said, having the Grand-Duke down here in this familiar way was worth any fêtes in London, and an amazing thing for them. After this Valse, which was over at 20 m. to 3, I took leave of all the Grand-Duke's gentlemen, with real regret, as I like them all very much; Patkul and Adlerberg are 2 such merry young creatures, particularly Patkul. I then went to the little blue room next my Dressing-room, where Lord Palmerston brought in the Grand-Duke to take leave. The Grand-Duke took my hand and pressed it warmly; he looked pale and his voice faltered, as he said, "*Les paroles me manquent pour exprimer tout ce que je sens*"; and he mentioned how deeply grateful he felt for all the kindness he met with, that he hoped to return again, and that he trusted that all this would only tend to strengthen the ties of friendship between England and Russia. He then pressed and kissed my hand, and I kissed his cheek; upon which he kissed mine (cheek) in a very warm affectionate manner, and we again warmly shook hands. I really felt more as if I was taking leave of a relation than of a stranger, I felt so sad to take leave of this dear amiable young man, whom I really think (talking jokingly) I was a little in love with, and certainly attached to; he is so frank, so really young and merry, has such a nice open countenance with a sweet smile, and such a manly fine figure and appearance. Lord Palmerston then brought in Prince Henry (which was not so melancholy), but who seemed in his odd way to be sorry to go too.

CHAPTER VII

JUNE—DECEMBER, 1839

Saturday, 1st June.— . . . I had observed him (Lord M.) riding his new horse from the window, which I said seemed very pretty. "Beautiful colour," he said. I said he seemed never to walk. "No, he never walks," said Lord M. I said, "Do you like that?" "Can't bear that," he replied; why did he buy him then? I asked; he couldn't always get what he liked, he said. Of the Duke of W.'s being very fair, for he says Lord M. should go on, and would not meet with so much opposition; I said to Lord M. what could make the Duke so *very* eager at times; "He is an eager man," replied Lord M.; we agreed this Speech was very friendly and likely to displease his own people. Talked of Mamma's Grandmother, the Queen of Sweden, and Frederick the Great's wife being sisters,¹ and of how we were all related. Talked of Mary thinking it so wrong that the Saxon Royal Family should have become Catholics, as the Elector of Saxony had been the great patron of Luther.

Sunday, June 2.—Lord M. and I looked at two of my large books of prints; in the 1st there is a pretty print of the Grand-Duke when he was 11 years old, and which we agreed was still so like. There was also a print of Frederick the Great; Lord M. said in looking at it, "A bad man; but we used him very ill," and that that was the origin of the alienation between England and Prussia. We looked at a print of Francis 1st, the late Emperor; and Lord M. said, "Madame de Lieven used

¹ Daughters of Ferdinand Albert, Duke of Brunswick-Bevern.

to say he was reckoned a stupid and a good man, but I believe that he was neither the one nor the other, and that I take to be the truth." There was also a print of the Duke of Reichstadt, and Lord M. said *his* death was a lucky thing. . . . We talked of titles, that of Zetland, and Dunfermline; and Lord M. said there is no regulation about titles; only subject to my pleasure; and it is not reckoned discredit to take another person's title; "But the Queen might make 20 Earls of Zetland if she liked," he said. There is nothing to prevent anybody from taking a title or wearing a ribbon, and Lord M. said that was Bickersteth's famous answer to Brougham; "Brougham asked, 'What is to prevent a man from wearing a blue ribbon?' 'Nothing but the universal scorn and contempt of mankind, my Lord.'"

Monday, 3rd June.—I asked Lord M. if he thought there would be no objection to my giving Uncle Ferdinand the Bath, as he was a very distinguished Officer; I said I had not mentioned it to anybody; Lord M. saw no objection to it, but would speak to Lord Palmerston about it. Said to Lord M., I shouldn't be surprised if the Emperor himself were to come here one day. "I always expect that," said Lord M. I said the Grand-Duke had said that his father remembered with such delight his visit to England and always hoped to return one day. "And what did you say?" said Lord M. "Nothing," I replied. "That was the best," he said. After the Council, I received in the Closet Prince Esterhazy, Reschid Pasha,¹ and the young Grand-Duke of Saxe-Weimar,² who were severally introduced by Lord Palmerston. The young Grand-Duke is just the same age as *the* Grand-Duke; is not at all good-looking, but has a fine tall figure; but after the other Grand-Duke, no one is seen to advantage; he was accompanied by Count Beust and M. Wagner. "I'm afraid we shall get

¹ Turkish Ambassador in London.

² Charles, Hereditary Grand-Duke of Saxe-Weimar (b. 1818), son of the Grand-Duke Charles Frederic, and his wife, Marie, daughter of the Emperor Paul.

into a scrape about Howick," said Lord M. "I hear he is determined to resign," unless J. Russell declared strongly against any change in the Reform Bill. I said, would Howick be a loss? Lord M. said he would be no loss,¹ but that "if Howick resigns, Lord Grey would be sure to turn against us, and Lord Dacre² too." "It would give a great shake,"—that Lord Grey thought the Reform Bill final, and Lord M. said this extension to £10 freeholders was a great change; "It will lose us a great deal of support," he said, "though it gains it on another side." Talked of my Uncle's and Cousins' arrival.

At about $\frac{1}{2}$ p. 3 I ran downstairs with Lady Lyttelton to receive Uncle Ferdinand. Uncle is grown old, but looking well; Victoire³—quite lovely—tall and slender, a skin like lilies and roses, hazel eyes, with beautiful fair hair, an aquiline nose and a very sweet mouth—not shy or awkward; Augustus—grown—but not so handsome as before—the face too fat; Leopold—very short (he is 15, and Victoire 16)—but very clever-looking; large blue eyes, a cock nose, fair hair and a fair skin; Alexander Mensdorff,⁴ Charles's height, a very handsome face, very dark, almost Spanish. I took them up to my room; then to their rooms, and then we took luncheon together. . . .

Wednesday, 5th June.—Heard from Lord John "that Sir Hesketh Fleetwood yesterday brought forward his motion to extend the right of voting in Counties to £10 householders. Lord John Russell felt himself obliged to declare that he could neither support the Motion, nor could he hold out a hope that the Government would concur in the Motion on a future occasion. It must be

¹ This was no reflection upon Lord Howick's abilities. It was a tribute to the irritation his occasional captiousness excited in his colleagues.

² Thomas, twentieth Lord Dacre, sometime M.P. for Herts.

³ Princess Victoire of Saxe-Coburg married in 1840 the Duc de Nemours, son of Louis Philippe.

⁴ Second son of the Duchess of Kent's sister, who married Count Mensdorff-Pouilly. He (Alexander) married Alexandrine, Countess Dietrichstein, and their second son, Albert, is now (1914) Austro-Hungarian Ambassador in London.

allowed that this motion has been looked for with great anxiety by the Radical Party, and that the declaration made on the part of the Government has occasioned great disappointment. The position is a very difficult one and may cause serious embarrassment. The House divided.

Against the Motion	207
For	81

126"

. . . At 5 m. to 2 Lord Melbourne came to me in the Closet, and stayed with me till a $\frac{1}{4}$ p. 2. There was some mistake about the Investiture, which however was set right. Lord Melbourne then said to me, "There's a dreadful ferment." I then said to him, I was rather annoyed at J. Russell's having thus thrown cold water upon the whole at once. Lord M. said J. Russell had seen Howick yesterday morning, who (H.) said he had been thinking very much over it, and that he had asked Lord Grey about it, who told Howick that he ought to oppose it in every way, and that if Government did not oppose it "he" (Ld. Grey) "should come down to the House and make a declaration against it"; upon which J. Russell thought that, considering that he had only a majority of 22—one of his Colleagues decidedly against it, and Lord Grey and others turning against us,—that he could not act otherwise than he had done, which was that he stated *he* himself was for the measure, but that he could not hold out any hope that the Government could do anything at a future time. It *had* been settled at the Cabinet that J. Russell should say that the Government would consider it next year; Lord M. had not seen J. Russell yesterday before this change and knew nothing of it,—which I said I thought wrong; Lord M. said, "He says, a leader must sometimes act for himself," but that John Hobhouse, Normanby and Thomson were so angry at this, that they were inclined to resign upon it, and Lord M. said their resignation at this moment would break up the Government; so he intends to have a

Cabinet next day upon it. "I thought it better to have it tomorrow in order to let them cool a little," he said. Before this, he said, "Duncannon, to whom they always go in such emergencies, advised them" (Normanby, Thomson and Hobhouse) "not to take any hasty step but to consider it first." "But there's a great ferment about it," said Lord M., "and they are very angry." Some of our friends, he says, are very much pleased at what John Russell has done; I asked him, mightn't the Tories be more friendly too, since this; Lord M. said it might have that effect, but that one couldn't depend upon one's enemies; the division against the motion was so large on account of the Tories. This extending the elective franchise to £10 holders "is a very serious change," Lord M. said. I said to Lord M. I had been so angry last night, as both Alfred Paget and Murray had frightened me last night about this affair in the House of Commons. . . . Talked of Sir William Molesworth¹ being such a very odd-looking man, with long yellow hair, which Lord M. said he wore to hide the loss of one of his ears; he was at the Levée, as also O'Connell, who brought an Address. "He looked very smug, and very cunning," said Lord M. Talked of Mr. Buckstone²; of people looking so odd in Court dresses. "It's as if a man was dressed to act a part"; I said it was such a frightful dress, which he wouldn't allow, and said was from the time of Louis the XIVth. I said the cravats were so ugly, and must be so uncomfortable, and that I should like an open collar so much better. "Why, you wouldn't show a man's neck?" he said; "a man's neck so ugly; it's so strongly marked,—that's why they hide it; a woman never hides her neck."

Friday, 7th June.—Lord M. said, "Esterhazy has been with me this morning, he is in a great fright about

¹ Then M.P. for Leeds. He was one of the first men of the leisured class to adopt "Radical" opinions. The band of members then holding those views was small but remarkable. In the coalition Ministry formed by Lord Aberdeen in 1852, Molesworth was First Commissioner of Works. He became Colonial Secretary in 1855, the year of his death.

² J. B. Buckstone, the manager of the Haymarket Theatre.

France, as all the Austrians always are; he has had a long conversation with Peel." I then said I had forced Lady and Miss Peel to shake hands with me. Esterhazy told Lord M. she was "in a great state of irritation, and very much annoyed." The Duke, I observed, was very civil; Lord M. said, "Oh! he's in very good humour because he told Esterhazy that you had said to him, he must stand by you, and that you said he had not, but (he said) that Peel was so jealous of anybody else, that he could not." I said I thought Peel saw that I had more confidence in the Duke than I had in him. Lord M. said Peel put forward what happened in 1812¹ about the Household, when Lord Grey came in, as a precedent for what has now happened, which he said was quite different; "That's no precedent whatever," continued Lord M., "and they only put that forward as a pretext," the real truth was, Lord M. said, that George IV. insisted on having Lord Moira² at the head of the Treasury; "and he," said Lord M., "was a man who had played the deuce when he was at the Ordnance Office; and they" (Lord Grey and Lord Grenville) "felt they could not go on with him in the Ministry, so they put the Household forward as a pretext to get out of it." I said some people thought Sir Robert Peel did it only for a pretext; "Just the same thing," said Lord M. "But it must be done," said Lord M.; "*he*" George III.) "was always very civil." I said *I* was too. "I don't mean by that you are not," said Lord M. laughing; "and he took them in; they said it

¹ In 1812 Lord Wellesley was called upon by the Prince Regent to form a ministry in conjunction with Lord Moira. Lords Grey and Grenville were asked to take office but refused, ostensibly objecting to a coalition Government. They also stipulated that the appointments to the Household should be under their control, but this was refused. Lords Wellesley and Moira failed to form an administration, and Lord Liverpool became Prime Minister.

² In 1789 Lord Moira (then Colonel Rawdon Hastings) was an intimate friend of the Prince of Wales, and proposed in his favour the amendment on the Regency question. He distinguished himself in the Low Countries in 1794. In 1806 he was Master of the Ordnance in the Ministry of "All the Talents," but resigned his appointment when the Duke of Portland became Prime Minister in 1807. In 1813 he was appointed Governor-General of Bengal and Commander-in-Chief of the Indian Army. Lady Flora Hastings was his daughter.

was all his deceit ; I don't believe that ; I think that was all their gullibility ; *they* thought he really liked them."

"She has got ringlets to-day," he said, looking at Victoire (who had had her hair in puffs the 2 days before), which I said I admired much the most. "I don't like the character," he said, "it gives such a naughty look"; but didn't he think she looked well? He replied, "They are beautiful," but the character the same. "Is Count Mensdorff in good health?" he asked. I replied, Yes, but that he looked pale. "Sallow; that colour is what *I* think beautiful," he said, which it is; and I said he was such a nice young man. "He's a nice fellow." I said his father was a Frenchman. "He looks like a Frenchman," said Lord M.

Monday, 10th June.—I asked Lord M. what the difference of the Ballot was; that it is done in secret; everybody votes in secret, Lord M. said, and now, everybody knows *who* votes and *for whom* they vote; they think, he continued, the Ballot would prevent Landlords from turning out their Tenants, because they couldn't know *who* had voted. I asked Lord M. did *he* think it would have that effect. "I very much doubt myself whether it would," said Lord M. "Now, everything is certainty, and then it would be uncertainty"; and he said there would be great fraud exercised in carrying it into execution; because, if a person asks a man, For whom are you going to vote? he answers, I can't say; then the other says, Oh! I know you are going to vote against me; upon which the man says, Oh! no; thereby telling a falsehood, very probably; and Lord M. continued, you can't then win any election, because you don't know who voted. At the same time, in the other way, the system of oppression and intimidation was very hard, people losing all their customers one way or another; "therefore I don't wonder at *their* wishing to try it," he said. I observed that the 2 brothers, the Duke of W. and Lord Cowley, were so unlike. "None of the Wellesleys are alike," said Lord M.¹ . . .

¹ There were four Wellesley brothers raised to the peerage, Marquess Wellesley,

Wednesday, 12th June.—I asked Lord M. if he didn't think me very much changed, and much more silent than I used to be. "You are more silent to-night," he said, "but everybody is more silent sometimes; no mortal can always be in the same temper, and then if they are out of humour themselves, they may show it to others. You shouldn't give way too much to personal dislikes," said Lord M., and he alluded to the 2 ladies who everybody knows hissed when I came up the course. "Now, are you sure they did it?" he asked; "quite sure." "They did it at me," he said; "that was just the same," I replied, and that I knew they did it at me also. "I heard it," he said, "some of the women told me." I said I had every reason to be very angry with Peel. "You both say just the same," said Lord M., "he says, 'I feel I can never be the Queen's Minister,' and you say he can never be your Minister." I said that was so. "It's very odd that two such interviews should have produced so much irritation," said Lord M. He asked if I liked Stanley; a little better, but Graham not at all. I said I couldn't conceal my feelings, and couldn't deceive a man; that it might get me into a good many scrapes, but that I couldn't help speaking up my feelings. "Well, I should appreciate that," said Lord M., "but everybody does not like that." Lord M. continued, that when he came in again in '35, which was exceedingly disagreeable for the King, "I said to him I hoped he would give me his confidence, and he answered, 'Good God! I wouldn't have sent for you if I didn't mean to do so.'" I said to Lord M., when Peel asked me for, or said he hoped I would give him, my confidence, I gave no answer; Lord M. said Esterhazy had told him Peel was moderate. Why should I, I said, mind what was said? "I don't think you should," he said; and I continued that people always made too much of women and that they influenced people. "I dare say they do," he said laughing; "but they don't influence *me*; do you think I talk to them too much?"

Lord Maryborough, Duke of Wellington, Lord Cowley. The first two successively inherited the Mornington title.

I said he listened to them too much. "Do I?—better not to talk to them at all? Then one would hear nothing; but I don't talk to them near as much as I used to do," he added laughing. . . .

Friday, 14th June.—Lord M. thinks a boy should leave a Nurse at 4, but he agrees with me that a boy had better have a Governess and not a Tutor till 7. I asked him who had he to take care of him till he went to the Private Tutor's when he was 7. "An old woman who had been my Mother's governess," he replied. "She taught me to read; she was a Jersey woman, a most ill-tempered old woman"; which I said was very disagreeable. "I think it did me good," he continued; "kept one in fear; I detested her; my Mother adored her, from having been her governess; she was a sort of Bonne; she married a Swiss clergyman, a M. Bignon, a very gentlemanlike man; he travelled with my eldest brother; he died in my father's family,—he was ill, had an operation performed, and died; he was very much of a gentleman. I was very fond of *him*; *he* lived downstairs with the Family; she did not; people could do that formerly, it can't be arranged now; she lived in the house till she made so much disturbance that they were obliged to put her out." Talked of my having given up my curls (I had plaits), which Lord M. was glad of; though he said curls looked very well. . . .

Sunday, 16th June.—Talked of my Relations having gone, and my liking to live with young people, for that then I felt that *I was young*, which I really often forgot, living so much, if not entirely, with people much older than myself. Talked of my Uncle's asking me if I intended to travel this year; and we then talked for some time about it, I stating very strongly my great dislike to doing so. Lord M. said at first, "You must do it one day; there's no need of doing it now." "You should go to Scotland and Ireland; it would be an immense thing if you could go to Ireland"; though he owned the dreadful trouble and fatigue it would be.

Monday, 17th June.—I went and fetched Lord Mel-

bourne Uncle Leopold's letter, in which he talks of my Cousins, Ernest and Albert, coming to see me, and Lord M. said, "You wish them to come?" which I said I did, and he saw no objection. When Lord M. had finished the letter, he said, "As you say, it is rather stiff; he says nothing about himself."

Tuesday, 18th June.—Talked of the rooms; if I had ever asked Brougham, which I said I couldn't, as he was really too bad; Lyndhurst I had asked; he wasn't quite so bad, I said, though I disliked him very much. Why? he asked. Because he was a bad man. "Do you dislike all bad men?" said Lord M., "for that comprises a large number." Lord M. continued that he was a very agreeable man, which I denied. Talked of Aberdeen, who I also disliked.¹

Wednesday, 19th June.—Lord M. asked if I had heard from J. Russell, and I went and fetched him the note I had received from J. R. about the Motion on the Ballot; 17 Majority against. At this moment Lord M. received a note from Lord Palmerston about some papers, which Lord M. was to have sent to him, and he had sent the wrong ones; Lord M. was obliged to answer it directly, and I got him paper and pens and ink, and a candle and sealing wax; and he wrote it, sealed it and sent it. Lord M. then asked, "What did Uxbridge write?" to the Duchess; that I was satisfied, I replied. "But the Duke is not at all satisfied with it," said Lord M., and that he (the Duke) had been with him this morning, and wanted to ask for an audience, which we both agreed never would do; and Lord M. said he would write a letter to him, which he would send for my approval. "The Duchess is coming to the Drawing-room tomorrow," he said, "you won't be markedly unfriendly to her?" I replied, certainly not, and that I had never spoken to her. We both, and I particularly, suspect that they did do it. He said these ladies deny having hissed

¹ The Queen subsequently showered favours upon Lord Aberdeen. He lived in the Ranger's House at Blackheath, given to him by her, and she lamented his death in very moving terms.

at all; Lord M. said that they couldn't sometimes restrain their feelings; the Duke said that the ladies said to Cantelupe, "We should like to hiss Lord M.," but that they didn't. Now the admission of this comes near the act, and the telling it to Lord M.!! "The Duke said it's so unladylike," continued Lord M., "so I said, If you mean by *unladylike*, that it is unlike what a lady *ought* to do, I quite agree with you, but if you mean that it is unlike what ladies *do* do, I cannot agree with you." Lord M. said that Dr. Kay¹ had told him it was extraordinary how the appearance of poor children changed when their education was more attended to; that the system of education hitherto pursued was all wrong, and "that we were all in the wrong box; he filled me with despair," he says that the system of mutual instruction has done no good, and that "it only strengthens the memory." Lord M. sent for this Dr. Kay, as he is the principal person about this new system. "If you will only let them alone and not be always intermeddling with them," he continued. "Walter Scott said to a clergyman whom he was writing to, 'How would you like, if a nobleman was to come into your house and teach you how to make your beef-steak into a ragout?'" Lord M. said that he would have them taught to read and write, arithmetic and the first elements of mathematics; and he said that formerly he observed that a *great number* came away from school very ignorant, a *few* tolerably instructed, and only *two* or *three* very well informed. Talked of gardeners, and Lord Melbourne's being such an excellent one; he says he is a great dissenter, and his father also. "Great thing to have a dissenter; they don't go to races, they don't hunt, and don't engage in any expensive amusements." Lord M. said, "*I've* very bitter resentments"; which I wouldn't believe. He said the way the women behaved during the Reform Bill was quite dreadful; the

¹ Afterwards Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth. He was an Assistant Poor Law Commissioner, and on the formation of the Committee of the Privy Council on Education became its first secretary.

license they gave themselves, calling people liars, and that in general "men are less measured in their expressions than women, but when women once take to strong expressions they are much worse"—which is true. "They said," he added laughing, "'Now let us have a hiss at that blackguard Melbourne'"!!!—which brought the colour to my face.

Friday, 21st June.—Lord M. made me laugh very much by telling me what a row Lord Winchilsea had made at Exeter Hall; there was a Meeting against this new Education System,¹ and people were only to be let in by tickets, but some others got in, and they put a Mr. Savage into the Chair, and Lord Winchilsea knocked him down and he was put in; and then Winchilsea was knocked down by Savage's friends, and they came to a regular fight; upon which Police Men were called in, who with difficulty restrained them and took some prisoners. Winchilsea then got up and made a speech, and said it had arisen from a mistake and they might let the prisoners go. Talked of Lord Westminster's having danced with the Duchess of Somerset. Talked of Mr. Webster,² the American, who has come over and who Lord M. saw in the House of Lords; and who was surprised at the House of Lords,—which, Lord M. says, is "the most democratic Assembly in the World." Talked of the Tournament Lord Eglinton is going to have; of the danger of it; of Lady Seymour being chosen "Queen of the Lists." . . .

Saturday, 29th June.—Talked of the report of the Grand-Duke's³ intending to marry the Princess Mary⁴

¹ The Government scheme proposed that a Committee of the Privy Council (the Lord President and five others) be appointed to establish a normal school, directed at four objects—Religious Instruction, General Education, Moral Training, and Commercial Instruction. The Committee should also allocate the grants made by Parliament. The Opposition condemned the scheme as irreligious.

² Daniel Webster, afterwards twice Secretary of State in the Federal Government.

³ Afterwards Alexander II. of Russia.

⁴ The Princess ultimately married Alexander II., and was the mother of the Duchess Marie of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, Duchess of Edinburgh.

of Darmstadt, who is only 15, which it seems *he* wished but Orloff stopped on account of her being in bad health. Lord M. says they'll marry him soon, though I doubted his liking to do so. His father did, and thought it right to do so; "and he has conducted himself very correctly ever since," said Lord M.; "it's a very extraordinary thing for a man with supreme power, and in a country not very scrupulous, to have conducted himself so correctly; very few men would do that." . . .

Wednesday, 3rd July.—Told Lord M. I had seen Lady Clanricarde, who had given me many accounts about Russia; Lord M. said he hoped she wouldn't talk too much, for else that would be written back. "I hear she told Palmerston that she couldn't understand how anybody could be afraid of him" (the Emperor). I said that she told me the Grand-Duchess Olga¹ was the most beautiful person she had ever seen,—quite like an angel; the Grand-Duchess Mary also very handsome, the great favourite, and manages the Emperor quite like a Toy; that *really* the Emperor wishes to keep her in Russia and therefore had consented to the marriage; that she was desperately in love with the Duke of Leuchtenberg,² which surprised her; then that the Grand-Duke was not the favourite, and that the Emperor was jealous of him, which Lord M. said people generally were of their Heirs. I said that she also told me that neither the Empress or any lady were ever allowed to talk Politics—which I said to Lord M. I thought a very good thing. "Did you tell her that?" asked Lord M. laughing; which I replied I could not have done, as that would have aimed at her too much. Talked of Lord M.'s groom, and his not taking as much care of the horses as he ought. "He doesn't take very brilliant care of them," Lord M. said. "He's got a troublesome wife who always tries to get into the stables, which I don't allow." I said, didn't the grooms' wives generally live in the Stables? "Yes, but she quarrels so," he replied, "and whenever

¹ The Grand-Duchess Olga afterwards married the King of Wurtemberg.

² She married Duke Maximilian of Leuchtenberg on 14th July, 1839.

a woman quarrels in the house, I always say, shove her out directly." I asked, had he had her shoved out? "I have ordered her out."

Thursday, 11th July.—Talked of my being so silent, which I thought wrong and uncivil, as I hated it in others. "Silence is a good thing," said Lord M., "if you have nothing to say." I said I hated it in others, and that it annoyed me when he was silent. "I'm afraid I'm so sometimes," he said, "won't say a word." Yes, I said, that nothing could be got out of him sometimes. "And that you dislike?" he said. Yes, I said, it made me unhappy, which made him laugh.

Friday, 12th July.—Talked of my fearing that too many of my relations had come over this year, which Lord M. didn't think, and said there had been no remarks made about it. Talked of my Cousins Ernest and Albert coming over,—my having no great wish to see Albert, as the whole subject was an odious one, and one which I hated to decide about; there was no engagement between us, I said, but that the young man was aware that there was the possibility of such a union; I said it wasn't right to keep him on, and not right to decide before they came; and Lord M. said I should make them distinctly understand anyhow that I couldn't do anything for a year; I said it was disagreeable for me to see him though, and a disagreeable thing. "It's very disagreeable," Lord M. said. I begged him to say nothing about it to anybody, or to answer questions about it, as it would be very disagreeable to me if other people knew it. Lord M. I didn't mind, as I told him everything. Talked of Albert's being younger. "I don't know that that signifies," said Lord M. "I don't know what the impression would be," he continued, "there's no anxiety for it; I expected there would be." I said better wait till impatience was shown. "Certainly better wait for a year or two," he said; "it's a very serious question." I said I wished if possible never to marry. "I don't know about *that*," he replied. . . .

Sunday, 14th July.—Talked of the foliage being in

beauty, and I said neither the lime blossoms or the flowers smelt hardly at all in this garden; Lord M. wouldn't believe it, and said, "Everything does better in London; London beats the country hollow in flowers." Talked of the garden being, as I said, very dull; "All gardens are dull," said Lord M., "a garden is a dull thing." Talked of the garden in St. James's Park, and Lord M. said there was a great piece of work about the old Swan being killed, in consequence of their having brought in too many other swans; this swan was called Old Jack, and had been hatched in the year '70!! "They are very angry with me," said Lord M. I asked why; "Because I didn't see that it was taken care of." . . .

Wednesday, 17th July.—Talked of the fate of Edward II. and Richard II. being so alike, and so uncertain; the one by his wife's connivance. Talked of Edward III.'s seven sons; of Henry V.'s widow marrying Owen Tudor, who was illegitimately descended from John of Gaunt. "They didn't mind what a Queen Dowager did then," Lord M. said; "they seldom returned." Anne of Cleves for instance lived and died here. Talked of Henry VIII. behaving very ill to her; he called her "a Flanders mare"; of his using his other wives so ill; Jane Seymour, I said, narrowly escaped being beheaded. "Oh! no, he was very fond of her," said Lord M., which I denied. "She died in child-bed when Edward VI. was born." And poor Catherine of Aragon he ill-used, I said; "He got tired of her," said Lord M., "she was a sad, groaning, moaning woman," which made me laugh. "She had always an idea that her marriage was formed in blood," he said, on account of the poor Earl of Warwick's death, which always hung upon her mind. Talked of Catherine Parr's narrowly escaping death. Lord M. said, "He got to be dreadfully tyrannical; when he began he had every sort of good feeling." Talked of Mary. "She was dreadfully bigoted, she would have sacrificed everything to her religion," he said. Talked of her cruelty—her having poor Jane Grey, her own cousin, executed. Talked of her (J. Grey's) sister who died in

prison, and whom Queen Elizabeth ill-treated because she married somebody without her leave. "Oh! she was dreadfully tyrannical," said Lord M., "just like her father; very stern; she was a Roman Catholic in fact, except the supremacy of the Pope; that she would never submit to." Talked of poor Mary of Scots' execution, which M. said Elizabeth delayed too long, for that her Ministers had been urging it. "When she signed it," said Lord M., "she said, 'I know Lord Walsingham will die of grief when he hears it'; it wasn't right of her to joke at such a moment." Talked of poor Mary. "She was a bad woman," said Lord M., "she was a silly, idle, coquettish French girl." I pitied her; talked of Darnley's brutality about Rizzio; Lord M. fears there's no doubt about her being aware of the intention of murdering Darnley, talked of her unhappiness, and the roughness of the Scotch towards her; of her brother Moray, whom Lord M. admires.

"Macaulay says," said Lord M., "no Christian Prince ever mourned for a Mahommedan; and Mahommedans never wear mourning; they take off their turbans and put ashes on their heads, but never change their garb." "I was speaking to Palmerston about Peel the other day, and he said," continued Lord M., "'The Queen would have liked Peel better when she knew him'; he says that he is much the best of them, that he is a very fair man; that he is not a very *high-minded* man, and has shown himself less so than he thought he had been."¹ . . .

Saturday, 27th July.—"Party went off well?" he asked. I replied Yes, but that a Concert always dragged, as people couldn't and mustn't talk. "You say the Queen Dowager was rather affected," he said, (I wrote to him last night,) "the same plate, the same servants," he observed (quite touched). I said I had great difficulty in persuading her to go before me, for that she said that

¹ The Prince Consort thought Peel the most "high-minded" Englishman then in the service of the State. His view is not contravened by what has subsequently come to light in reference to Peel.

really was *too* wrong, that she couldn't think of doing it, but I forced her to do it; she said to me, "I must obey." "I was sure she wouldn't like that," said Lord M. with tears in his eyes, and he was also much affected when I told him that she said she *felt* kind intentions. Talked of my fearing to go to Windsor this year; of my getting tired of the place; of George III. living almost always at Windsor, hunting 6 times a week, which Lord M. thinks he did till 1800; certainly after his 1st illness in 1788.

Wednesday 31st July.—At 5 I went downstairs with Lehzen and Matilda to the Equerries' room, where Lord Melbourne was sitting to Grant¹ (since a $\frac{1}{4}$ p. 4) on that wooden horse without head or tail, looking so funny, his white hat on, an umbrella in lieu of a stick in one hand, and holding the reins which were fastened to the steps in the other; he sat there so patiently and kindly, doing just what he was told²; but, as Grant said, he is not easy to paint, for he either looks grave and absorbed, or laughs and goes into the other extreme; he is always changing his countenance; I was so amused. Grant kept telling him, "Now Lord Melbourne, hold your head in the right position,"—for he kept looking at Islay and trying to touch him with his umbrella; and then, "Now sit up, Lord Melbourne." Grant has got him so like; it is such a happiness for me to have that dear kind friend's face, which I do like and admire so, so like; his face, his expression, his air, his white hat, and his cravat, waist-coat and coat, all just as he wears it.

Talked of Lord M.'s having had his umbrella in the room, and I said he always took it about with him. He replied laughing, "You should never quit your umbrella when it rains." What use was it in a close carriage? I said. "Might be upset," he said, "I might want to get out; suppose I might be stopped and put out of the carriage, which may happen one of these days,—at least leave me the umbrella to go on with," he said laughing

¹ Sir Francis Grant, elected P.R.A. in 1866.

² The sitting was for a picture which now hangs in the corridor at Windsor. The Queen is shewn riding out from the Castle accompanied by her Court.

so much himself and making us all laugh too. Talked of where Lord M. had been reading about the lean and fat kine. "It's Joseph's dream," he said, and as he was thinking of famine, he read it. I thought it difficult, which he does not. "All the history of Abraham is very beautiful and very clear," he said; "it's the history of an Arabian Tribe." The Prophets, he agreed, were very difficult. . . .

Saturday, 3rd August.—He asked if I had heard the news from Alexandria from Palmerston; I replied none except those which he had written me in the morning (which were that "The Capitan Pasha had taken the Turkish Fleet to Alexandria,"¹ and Mehemet Ali says that he will not give it up to the Sultan until he dismisses the Grand Vizier and acknowledges the hereditary right of the Pasha to the countries which he at present governs. This is to make the Sultan his subject and his Vassal.") What could make him do it? I asked. "He disagreed with the Vizier," said Lord M. "Stopford is to be written to, to force him to give back the Fleet." Talked of there being so few marriages; I named 4, and mentioned March's paying great attention to Sarah Mary. Lord M. observed he was too young, and said, "A man shouldn't marry before 30." *He* did at 26, I observed. "Yes," he replied, "I wasn't fit to be married; a man oughtn't to marry before he can lead the life of a married man; I was always ashamed of it." I said a man might be fit before 30, and a man *needn't* marry. "No," he said, "but you don't marry out of reason; you marry because you fall in love."

Sunday, 4th August.—Talked before this of one's disliking things which one had been made to learn by heart when a child; and Lord M. talked of its being unneces-

¹ War had been declared between the Viceroy and the Porte, but the Turkish Admiral, Achmet, under whose command the fleet had been despatched to Syria, treacherously sailed to Alexandria, and the Ottoman troops under Hafiz in Egypt were severely defeated. On 1st July the Sultan Mahmoud II. died after a reign of thirty years, and was succeeded by his son, Abdul Medjih, a youth of seventeen. Admiral Sir Robert Stopford commanded the British fleet. The French fleet was under Admiral Lalande.

sary that a child should understand what it learnt. "I don't mind their pottering about explaining things." I said I thought they should always understand. "Then you would teach them nothing at all," he continued, "if you only taught them what they understand." But if they ask? I said. "Oh! if they ask," he said, "then I would explain." But I said nothing I hated so much as explaining anything to a child. "Now that I must say is very wrong," said Lord M., and when I observed that one often did not know what to say to them, he said, "it doesn't do to show ignorance, you must explain it in some sort of way." Talked of Governesses, and the English ones generally being so bad, and he said, "Emily was very unfortunate; I really think they" (Lady Ashley and Lady Fanny) "are the two best brought up girls in England, but their education was shocking." Talked of the Pagets being so well brought up. I observed Lord M. had the new glasses again, which are of ebony inlaid with gold, and which he has had some months; I thought some years, as there is W. L. upon one side. "The person who gave them to me had that done," he said; "I don't know why that was put." He thinks them "very pretty," but I told him I preferred the old ones, as these did not look like him.

Tuesday, 6th August.—Talked of Uncle Leopold; my Cousins Ernest and Albert's coming, which we agreed would create observation. Lord M. said there had been a paragraph about it the other day in one of the papers, which the Editor of the *Observer* sent to him, asking Lord M. if he should contradict it. "I told them they had better not contradict it; I thought it better not," he said. I repeated to him that he had said he did not like the connection; he laughed, and hesitated to say anything, but upon my urging it, he said, "I don't like it very much." But he agreed with me, a great deal depended upon what sort of person he was; and I said much as I loved my Country, and was ready to do what was for its good, still I thought my own liking was one of the principal things. "I think you have a right

to expect that," he said. "It's a very difficult subject; I don't think a foreign Prince would be popular." But I said I couldn't and wouldn't like to marry a subject, and whatever family he belonged to, Lord M. said, they would be the object of jealousy. "No, I don't think it would do," he added. I said I heard Albert's praises on all sides, and that he was very handsome.

Wednesday, 7th August.—When I returned from the Opera at a $\frac{1}{4}$ p. 12, I found a box from Lord Melbourne containing the following intelligence: "Lord Brougham spoke for 3 hours and a $\frac{1}{2}$, as usual a most powerful, and also as usual a most violent and acrimonious speech.¹ Violent against Normanby, but still more violent against Sir Michael O'Loughlen, at present Master of the Rolls and formerly Attorney-General. Normanby is now replying and the debate will probably be late. Lord Melbourne apprehends that the Duke of Wellington will vote for the resolutions and in that case they will be carried." I wrote to Lord Melbourne asking for more news, and sat up till a little after 1, when I received the answer dated a $\frac{1}{4}$ to 1, in which he says, "He" (Ld. M.) "has spoken and also Lord Wharncliffe and Lord Plunket. Lord Roden is now speaking; there is no doubt that most of the Opposition will vote for the resolutions and they will of course be carried. It is as Your Majesty says, very awkward." At a $\frac{1}{4}$ to 9 this morning, my Maid woke me, and brought me another box from Lord Melbourne in which he says: "The House divided at a little after 3; for the resolutions, 90, against, 53." I went to sleep again and got up at a $\frac{1}{4}$ p. 10. Wrote to Lord Melbourne; breakfasted at near 11. At 20 m. p. 4 came Lord Melbourne and stayed with me till 10 m. to 5. I asked if he wasn't very tired; "I'm better now," he

¹ Brougham was exasperated at not being asked to resume in 1835 the Lord Chancellorship, which he had held in Lord Grey's, and Lord Melbourne's first, Administrations. He never forgave Melbourne, and on 6th August, 1839, he attacked the Government for their administration of the criminal law in Ireland. Lord Melbourne said that a more inveterate and criminary speech had never been heard in that House. He moved the Previous Question, which, however, was negatived.

replied, "I was very tired." He only got to bed at 5, having had his dinner when he came home at 4. I said that was very bad, which made him laugh very much. "Must eat," he said. He should eat before he went to the House, I told him. "I've no appetite before a Debate." Talked of Brougham having been very violent, and its having lasted longer than Lord M. expected. "Normanby is in a dreadful state," said Lord M.; he had not spoken to him at the Cabinet, but Duncannon told Lord M. so. I said Lord M.'s speech was so fine that it must have annoyed Brougham a good deal. "Very much," said Lord M. I asked how Normanby spoke; "Pretty well," he replied, "he was very much annoyed, and it was rather a difficult case, not very tenable."

. . . Talked of the Italian opera, which Lord M. agreed could only be kept up by the Manager's asking a great deal of money. "It has a very factitious existence," he said; he continued that it was only introduced about 100 years ago, in Queen Anne's reign, and that there was a terrible row about it then. His ancestor, Mr. Coke, was Vice-Chamberlain, and therefore, Lord M. said, he has a number of papers relating to the commencement of it; the first singers were the Marguerite (who married a Frenchman of the name of Le Pine), a Mrs. Tofts, also an Italian by birth, Nicolini Hayimes (a man); and he said the opera was half English, half Italian, the Italians only singing in Italian. Addison, who wrote very violently against the Italian opera, said, "We are so tired of understanding half, that better understand none of it, and have it all in Italian." Talked of George III.'s love for Handel, and my disliking him. Lord M. said so funnily, "There are no good voices in England, no good *voce di petto*," which I denied. "You should sing from the chest,—walk from the hip—not from the knee and ankle." He said the English voices being all "Saxon nasal voices," that singing and speaking was in fact the same thing, and that both could be taught; and that singing should be always taught. "I've a great deal of latent music in me," he said, which made us laugh much.

Thursday, 8th August.—The Duchess of Sutherland and her 2 daughters there. Talked of the Duchess caring for Politics, that I could not bear women mixing in Politics, and that I never talked to my Ladies about them. "That's quite right," he said; and that I thought it very wrong in the Ministers telling their wives everything, in which Lord M. quite agreed, but said everybody told everything to somebody. I never did, or wish to do so, I said. "But that's very rare," he said.

Sunday, 11th August.—Talked of this Tournament being such folly; he understands there is a lady who has paid £1,000 for 3 dresses; "Lady Seymour's is only to cost 40, I was *told* to-day," he said. Talked of old Mrs. Fox,¹ who is past 90, having a tooth taken out which was quite sound. Talked of washing dogs being a bad thing for their coats; and washing the hair being as he said a very bad thing, but which he used to do formerly, and which he thinks makes people bald. Losing the hair came from the vessels of the skin not being in good order, he said. "I think a man looks better without hair than with it, if he has a fine head," said Lord M.

Tuesday, 13th August.—I then talked of what I should write to Uncle Leopold about the King of the French's coming over; (Lord M. sent me yesterday afternoon a note from Lord Palmerston about it, in which he says amongst other things, "The Visit would no doubt set people a-talking, and give rise to many conjectures and surmises, but all the speculations which could be founded upon it, would go upon the assumption that the visit indicated a tendency towards a closer union between England and France; and good rather than evil is likely to arise from the propagation of that notion throughout Europe"). Lord M. then asked if I should like it; I said I certainly should, and that I had a great friendship for the King of the French; but I begged Lord M. to inquire if I could go down to Brighton for a night. I said I thought Palmerston disliked the King of the French,

¹ The widow of Charles James Fox. She died in 1842 in her 93rd year.

which Lord M. denied¹; he said that Palmerston thought he had behaved ill about Spain, "but he is very much for the French alliance; no one more so." I asked Lord M. what *he* thought of the visit. "*I* agree with Palmerston," Lord M. replied.

Saturday, 17th August.—Talked with Lord M. of my being unable to bear tea, and he, coffee; he thinks Parliament may be up by Tuesday week. He had, to my astonishment, a large fire in both his rooms. I asked if he had had one also at home; he said yes; and "I always have a fire if I am annoyed or worried; it's astonishing how it dissipates that"; and he always has one when he comes home late from the House.

Thursday, 22nd August.—"The Emperor is going to send you a present," Lord M. said; "haven't you seen that?" I said No, and he continued, "A Malachite Vase²; they say it is the finest in the world; it stands in his Palace at present." Lord M. said the Emperor was exceedingly angry at the proposition of the Fleets going up to Constantinople, and that if that had taken place he should have desired his Minister to leave Constantinople immediately. "It's the French he hates," Lord M. added. "Ponsonby has always been wanting our Fleet to come up to Constantinople; it would do no good." He then said John Russell had begged him to ask my leave³ to go out of Town on Saturday. "I believe he wants it," and that all would be over in the House of Commons on Saturday, and in the House of Lords on Monday, so that the Prorogation would be on Tuesday.

¹ The Queen was right, for, on the death of Louis Philippe, Lord Palmerston wrote to his brother William Temple, "The death of Louis Philippe delivers me from my most artful and inveterate enemy, whose position gave him in many ways the power to injure me" (*Life of Palmerston*, iv. 229).

² This vase now stands in the State Drawing-room at Windsor Castle.

³ The Principal Secretaries of State, the Lord Chancellor, and the First Lord of the Treasury never left town, when the Sovereign was at Buckingham Palace, without leave. Up to the end of Queen Victoria's reign they never left England without the permission of the Sovereign. This rule has been considerably relaxed of recent years; although it is not customary of the Prime Minister to go abroad without leave of the King.

Saturday, 24th August.—At a $\frac{1}{4}$ to 6 came my excellent Lord Melbourne, who asked how I was; I said better. He, quite well. They were kept till 11 in the House of Lords. "I've brought you this speech," he said, pulling it out of his pocket, and he read it to me in his usual beautiful manner; it is rather long; written out by William Cowper, Anson being gone, and he feared not well written. Talked of Lyndhurst. "What Campbell, the Attorney-General, says," said Lord M., "is very true; he says when Lyndhurst wants to say anything that isn't law or that he doesn't like to say, he gets Brougham to say it." Follett, Lord M. says, is certainly very clever and much the same sort of talents as Lyndhurst; "as to what sort of man he is," said Lord M., "I'm sure I don't know." Talked of Miss Fox, who Lord M. says always looked the same; he saw her 1st in '90, 49 years ago. Talked of her, and Lord Holland's being very like their Uncle; though Lord M. said Lord Holland was not like C. Fox in conversation; that the latter was not near so talkative as Lord Holland; that Miss Fox had that great good-nature which they all had, and that she was very much beloved. Lord M. said, "That great good-nature is apt to degenerate into facility, so that people will do almost anything; I'm afraid Morpeth will have that; he's so very soft that I think he can never hardly say No to anyone; a very bad thing for a public man."

Sunday, 25th August.—Talked to Lord M. of his being tired, and I said to him he mustn't go to sleep before so many people, for that he generally snored! "That proclaims it too much," he said, in which I *quite* agreed.

Talked of Hampton Court, its great size, none of the Sovereigns having lived in it since William III.,¹ of William III.'s being killed in coming from Hampton Court, the spot was well known, Lord M. said. "He broke his collar bone and drove it into his lungs; but anything would have killed him a'most, he was a weakly man;—a great man, who kept Louis XIV. in fear." A cruel man, I said. "Oh! no," said Lord M., "not cruel,

¹ A mistake. Queen Anne, George I., and George II. occupied the Palace,

not cruel in Ireland ; he was the most tolerant monarch that ever sat on the Throne." And he said the only thing he ever did that was cruel, was that affair at Glencoe, when they told him by mistake there was a band of ruffians whom he ordered "to be knocked on the head." . . .

Wednesday, 28th August.—Talked of Lord M. and his being well ; I said I should certainly not ask the Duke of W. this time when Uncle came. "Why not?" said Lord M. Because he had behaved very ill. "You must recollect that people have particular feelings," he said. There was no other Party ; the Radicals themselves had quite given up the idea of being able to form a Government, which they had *once* thought possible ; and that there could be only 2 Parties in England. I said, as for the Tories, I never would apply to them ; I must, in some shape, he said ; I never would submit about the Ladies ; that must be arranged, he said. But why speak of all this *now* ? I said, there was no fear *now* ? "I don't know," he said. I said, as the others (the Tories) admitted *themselves* they could not stand, they ought to help and not to oppose every reasonable measure, as they had done, and not behave as they had done in the House of Lords. "They didn't behave so badly in the House of Lords," said Lord M. (This is admirable fairness.) "They didn't throw out many bills." But altered a good many, I said. "But I don't know that those alterations didn't do them good," said Lord M. laughing. The only outrageous thing they did, he said, was their throwing out the Admiralty Courts Bill, and that was "a very wanton thing." He thinks of offering Howick's place to Macaulay. I observed that some of Palmerston's despatches were rather severe. "I was looking over those Portuguese papers," said Lord M., "and they are very bitter ; that does no good ; on the contrary, 'a soft word turneth away wrath.'"

Thursday, 29th August.—Lord M. said that Sheil¹ had

¹ Richard Lalor Sheil was M.P. for Tipperary, and Vice-president of the Board of Trade. In early life he had been a dramatist, but he was more successful as an

been very much agitated when I saw him. "I found him labouring under very great emotion when I went out to him," said Lord M., so much affected as to stifle his voice a little, and he continued so while he said that this was such an immense thing for Sheil, raising such a man to office, that it drove such people "quite mad." "I said to him," Lord M. continued, "'Now mind what you say when you get down into your county of Tipperary, for your election; mind not to get into any scrapes.' 'I know I'm a terrible character for indiscretion,' he said, 'but you needn't be afraid; I've not been tried *in office* before, you'll see I'm discreet.'" Lord M. said, much affected, that he understood Lady Howick¹ had fought a most severe battle with Howick to try and prevent him from resigning. "It is right that you should know," said Lord M., "these things are of more consequence than you may think for, I fear George Grey won't remain," also for fear of Lord Grey. I said that was not what I called right. "But the last thing people think of," said Lord M. laughing, "is doing what is right." "Lord Grey is very hostile," said Lord M. But he resigned, I said. "Yes, and recommended me to the King," said Lord M.; "but it caused immediately a comparison to be drawn between his Government and mine, in disfavour of his,—which nearly drove him mad." I asked Lord M. did he really think Brougham was sincere. "I may flatter myself," said Lord M., "but *I* think he likes me." I said no one but Lord M. would speak so of Brougham. "I haven't the slightest animosity against Brougham," said Lord M. This is a truly angelic disposition and worthy of eternal record.

Friday, 30th August.—Talked of a picture Leslie has done of Holland House. I rang the bell and ordered the picture to be brought in; I said to Lord M., "Don't get up," when I did to ring the bell, and he smiled and sat

orator, in his exertions, in co-operation with O'Connell, for Catholic emancipation. He entered Parliament in 1831, and made a great speech in April of this year (1839) in support of the Irish policy of the Ministry.

¹ Maria, daughter of Sir Joseph Copley of Sprotborough.

down. The picture was brought in ; the interior of the gallery at Holland House ; Lord Holland and Lady Holland sitting at a table ; old Allen¹ standing, and a young man standing in front, who Lord M. said is one of her pages ; the other page is seen quite at a distance ; Lady Holland *calls* them *Edgar* and *Harold*, but their real names are John and Thomas. Lady Holland very like, he says, though flattered in size and put in a black velvet gown ; "Allen the least like ; too smart."

Friday, 6th September.—George IV., he said, was a famous man for finding reasons for doing a thing he liked ; the recognition of the Independence of the South American States was, Lord M. said, one of the worst things possible ; "and the King disliked doing it very much," continued Lord M., "but Mr. Canning knew the way how to do it ; he knew the King disliked Lord Ponsonby ; and Mr. Canning proposed Lord Ponsonby should be sent to recognise the South American States ; that was just the way,—the King gave way immediately."

Saturday, 7th September.—Talked of Uncle L. ; their baggage not being come ; of Louise having only one pair of stockings. Lord M. said Madame de Campan was so angry, when Marie Antoinette ordered so many things before they fled from Paris, and thus excited observation, and said to her, "On peut trouver des chemises et des bas partout." . . .

Wednesday, 11th September.—At 20 m. p. 11 we set off in open carriages. We changed horses 3 times, at Staines, the Stud House, and Kennington Green. We got to Woolwich at a $\frac{1}{4}$ p. 2, and drove into the Dockyard immediately ; we had only 2 steps to walk to the Boat ; the Band of the Rifles played *God save the Queen*, and the guns fired, but it was all very quiet. I got into the boat with Louise, my 2 Uncles, Mamma, and Vecto ; all the others going in another boat ; we were rowed to the *Lightning* steamer, which was a little way off, and went on

¹ John Allen (1771–1843), an intimate friend of Lord Holland and constant inmate of Holland House, where he acted as librarian.

board her; I climbed up the side ladder with ease,¹ all my nautical feelings and recollections returning again; and we walked about the deck a little while. I then went down with Victoire in the cabin; it is very small but neat; she and Thérésine and Rézy sleep in the same cabin. I made dearest Victoire take off her little handkerchief and give it to me; and I gave her mine. I gave Leopold a little pin, which I had also worn, a little Knight kneeling. It was heart-breaking to see the steamer go away from us—for she set off as soon as we were clear of her, and we remained on our oars to see her go.

Saturday, 14th September.—Talked to Lord Melbourne; of his sleeping and its being too bad. "It's a sign of a composed mind," he said, which I admitted. Talked of Lord M.'s going to church next day, which we said he ought to do 3 times; he would go, he said, "though it's against my creed; I'm a *quietist*; it's the creed which Fénelon embraced, and which Mme. Guillon² taught; you are so perfect that you are exempted from all external ordinances, and are always living in God." I said that the use of church was, that it made one think of what one would otherwise *not* think of; that I had often doubted him; that I had often suspected him; "What about?" he asked; he said of all things he could be the least suspected of having heterodox opinions. . . .

Sunday, 15th September.—Talked of the weather, its being fine but cold; of the Eton boys, and Lord M. said Seymour had been down to Eton and had asked one of the boys if they saw much "of the Queen," upon which the boy had replied, "Oh! no, she considers us a Nest of Tories."

Friday, 20th September.—At 10 m. to 3 Lord Melbourne

¹ As the Queen was about to leave the ship the captain and officers betrayed some anxiety and a desire to help her down the tall side of the vessel. The Queen looked up with the greatest spirit, and said quite loud in her silvery voice, "No help, thank you: I am used to this," and then descended, as an eye-witness observed, "like an old boatswain." She was enthusiastically cheered by the sailors.

² Should be Madame Guyon, the Jansenist and famous leader of the Quietists, a school of religious mysticism in the seventeenth century in France.

came to me, and stayed with me till $\frac{1}{2}$ p. 3. He asked how I was. He gave me a warrant to sign about a Banner. He gave me the return of the revenue, which is most satisfactory. He said, "The King was quite astonished at the large sums; I showed him one of these." "I have had Brunow¹ with me this morning," Lord M. continued; "he says they only wish to do what we like; that they would act with France if we wished it, but they would rather without France; that the Emperor 'can't bear the King of the French'; 'he has a Crown that don't belong to him''"; that he sent an Ambassador there, but that he never would call him "mon frère" in a letter; that he (the Emperor) has a great contempt for the Carlists, and a pity for the elder branch (of the French family); that he would not meddle with it, "he left that in the hands of Providence," who would not allow it to go on. Brunow, said Lord M., went on to say that it was useless to speak to the Emperor of Russia of the opinion and will of the people; then he said to Lord M. that Persia in their eyes was of much more importance than this Oriental Question; that we should upset the Shah, which would be very dangerous, and in which case Russia must interfere. He desired Lord M. to express on his (Brunow's) part his great feeling at his reception here, and also the great affection the Emperor had for me.

Monday, 23rd September.—I said, I wished to ask none of the Tories this year. "If you do that," said Lord M., "you, as it were, cut them off." I observed John Russell disliked them; Lord M. said, "I think J. Russell has a good deal of bitter personal feeling," which he didn't show, but which extended towards the Tories pretty generally. "I don't dislike the Tories," said Lord M., "I think they are very much like the others." We agreed J. Russell disliked being supported by them. "I don't care," said Lord M., "by whom I am supported; I consider them all as one; I don't care by whom I'm helped, as long as I *am* helped," he said laughing.

¹ The Russian Ambassador.

Tuesday, 24th September.—Talked of the very curious account which he sent me (and which I read when I came home) of Runjeet Singh's last days and death. Lord M. said the account of the Women burning themselves was very curious. "They said, 'What we want is name and reputation, and therefore we will burn with the Maharajah'"; and of the Prime Minister repeatedly trying to do the same. Talked of its being a good thing to keep up the army a little; of the great expense of it for this country. Of Howick and his coming to see me next day; and Lord M. said he would probably state to me the causes of his resignation, and I asked what I should answer. "Say you are very sorry," said Lord M., "very sorry to lose his services, that you have every reason to be satisfied with the manner in which he performed his duty, that you had always heard he did it very well." I asked was he sorry; Lord M. replied, "I think he is," but that he was so influenced by his father. Talked of Lord Grey's hostility, and Lord M. said, "I know why he is angry with *me*; because I don't go and talk to him." Then, he continued, he consulted Lord Grey upon the drawing up of that Answer to the Address from the House of Lords, when Lord Grey gave very valuable service; "and he says I never thanked him for that. That is his forte," continued Lord M., "in drawing up papers of that kind; he is quite unrivalled for that."¹

Wednesday, 25th September.—Talked of my having seen Howick, whom I thought rather irritated; that he had said he thought the Government was getting weaker, and was not going on well, either to my satisfaction or to that of the country. "That's always his tone," said Lord M., "and those are the two difficulties we have to contend with,"—on one side people say that we are going too much towards the Radicals; on the other hand that we lean too much towards the Tories and lose "the popular support." It is very difficult to please

¹ It was the natural envy on Lord Grey's part (felt by many men) of his successor; of the older for the younger man!

both. I told Lord M., Howick said he would always support the Government, which Lord M. thinks he will, coupled with a great deal of opposition; his last grievance, we agreed though, was his not being made Chancellor of the Exchequer. I said I had said to him just what Lord M. had told me. "Now you don't like having all these people down here," said Lord M., "because of these young Princes."¹ But I replied I didn't mind it. Lord M. said it might excite remarks, all the Ministers being down here just when these young people came here; but as there must be a Council it would be as well to have them here. I could stop my Cousins for a day, I said; but he didn't mind it; however, just before the audience ended we settled I should write to Uncle to keep them till Thursday.

Thursday, 26th September.—Lord M. observed the rooks flying in a manner which indicated rain; I said I disliked them so. "How very odd," said Lord M., "I could sit looking at them for an hour; those are rural habits," he used to be always in the country formerly, shooting all day. Talked of my disliking this meeting of Ministers; my disliking to hear nothing else but Politics and always Politics.² "Nothing so disagreeable," said Lord M., "very tiresome; and that's the worst of Holland House; you hear nothing else, which is very tiresome, particularly when you are at it all day. Holland thinks of nothing else." Mr. Fox, on the contrary, Lord M. said, was always talking of poetry and literature, which he liked much better than Politics; people seldom liked, Lord M. said, what they did best. . . .

Saturday, 28th September.—Talked of the orange lilies in my hair being in Ireland the emblem of Orangeism; of William III., my not having descended from him but from James 1st and Mary Queen of Scots, and from Henry VII.; of Elizabeth's beheading Mary, which Lord M. said *she* didn't *wish* to do but was forced to do so; of

¹ The young Coburg Princes, Ernest and Albert.

² After her marriage the Queen used often to lay stress upon the relief it was to her that she could shift the burden of "politics" on to the Prince.

Elizabeth always refusing to name her successor (which was then thought necessary), and saying, Lord M. said, "I remember Hatfield," when *she* was her sister Mary's successor and they all came and courted her; of her being wretched when James 1st was born. "She didn't like it" (marrying), said Lord M., "and I think she never really intended it; but she liked all the courtship and flirtation." Lord M. then asked if I had ever read Hallam's *Constitutional History of England*, which I said I had not, and he recommended me to read it. "I think it's a good book to read," he said, "as you know the History well."

Tuesday, 1st October.—He then said that Russia's proposition relative to these Eastern Affairs¹ was to act with us, rather *without* France, but *with* France if we wished it, and in case of Ibrahim Pasha's marching upon Constantinople, that it should be allotted to *them* to defend Constantinople; but *no* other fleet to come up the Dardanelles. Russia is bound by the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi to defend Constantinople. "Now we think it very important to carry Russia along with us," said Lord M., "but also France," and that it was likewise *very* important to bind Russia by *convention* to do what she would otherwise do of herself; but would France agree? I asked. Lord M. said they thought France would not agree to anything of such magnitude and importance being done without her; Lord M. said more,

¹ After the Battle of Navarino the general attitude of Europe towards Turkey underwent a change, and the desire to turn the Turks out of Europe gave place to a policy of bolstering up the Sick Man. The defeat of the Turks by Mehemet Ali at Konieh in 1832, and the danger thereby caused to Constantinople, led Mahmoud II. to appeal to the European Powers for protection. Russia alone was ready to come to his aid, and in 1833 Turkey concluded the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi with Russia; by it the Dardanelles were closed to all but Russian vessels. The death of Mahmoud in 1839 and the feebleness of his successor, Abdul Medjid, induced Mehemet Ali to attempt further encroachments, and this time the Powers determined to intervene, and ensure the integrity of the Ottoman Empire. France, however, stood aloof, and was greatly disgusted when in 1840 a treaty with Turkey was signed by England, Russia, Austria, and Prussia. By it Mehemet Ali was called upon to restore Syria and Candia to the Porte. He refused, and was thereupon compelled by English and Austrian forces to submit, after a defeat in Syria and the bombardment of Beyrout and Acre.

which I cannot sufficiently recollect to put down. "So we have settled to return a favourable answer to Brunow," said Lord M., "to say that we are ready to act with Russia, and to act quickly, but that we think it very important also that France should go with us," and thus not state specifically *what* we shall do.

Wednesday, 2nd October.—I talked to him of Sir J. Hobhouse, and Lord M. said, "Hobhouse is a man of immense knowledge and acquirements; there's nothing he don't know"; and we agreed, a very agreeable man; of Macaulay, who Lord M. said was "a man of immense learning; I think you'll see he'll make a great man some day,"—Lord M. continued. I observed he was odd-looking. "Uncouth, and not a man of the world," Lord M. replied, "he has studied a good deal; his father was a great Saint; and that restrained him a good deal."

Saturday, 5th October.—Talked of asking Lady Clanricarde,¹ which he again urged; of how the Granville's came to care so much about her. "Why, they, as the adherents of Canning," said Lord M., "naturally look to her; Lord Granville, Lord Morley, Lord Seaford, and also Lord Carlisle were very much attached to Mr. Canning." I observed Canning was no Whig, in which Lord M. agreed, but also no Tory. "He followed Mr. Pitt," said Lord M., "he began with Mr. Pitt, and Mr. Pitt was certainly not a Tory, though he was generally supported by the Tory party; he was called so, as he was in opposition to the Whigs." Then, when Mr. Pitt died, Lord M. said, Canning "took a line of his own." These, like Granville and the others, "are our best friends," Lord M. said, "but they are not Whigs; he (Canning) acted with the Whigs, and they followed him," and have remained with *us*; Lord Haddington was also one of his followers but went over. "They are very much mixed," said Lord M., "there are many on the Tory side who have not Tory opinions, and many

¹ Lady Clanricarde was daughter of Mr. Canning and his wife Viscountess Canning in her own right. She was a sister of Lord Canning, Viceroy of India, who inherited the title from his mother.

amongst the Whigs who have not Whig opinions," and these, like Granville, consider Lord Canning as quite a Tory, and look to Lady Clanricarde instead. . . .

Thursday, 10th October.—Got up at $\frac{1}{2}$ p. 10 and saw to my astonishment that a stone, or rather 2 stones, had been thrown at my dressing-room window and 2 glasses broken; the stone was found under the window; in the little blue room next the audience room another window broken and the stone found in the room; in the new strong room another window broken, and in one of the lodging rooms next to this, another broken and the stone found in the middle of the room. This is a very strange thing, and Lehzen told Lord Surrey of it. At $\frac{1}{2}$ p. 7 I went to the top of the staircase and received my 2 dear cousins Ernest and Albert,—whom I found grown and changed, and embellished. It was with some emotion that I beheld Albert—who is *beautiful*. I embraced them both and took them to Mamma; having no clothes they couldn't appear at dinner. At 8 we dined. Besides our own party, Lady Clanricarde, Lord and Lady Granville, Baron Brunow, Lord Normanby, the Hon. William Temple,¹ and Mr. Murray (who returned), dined here. I sat between Baron Brunow and Lord Melbourne. Talked to Lord Melbourne of my cousins having no baggage; I said I found my cousins so changed. Talked of my cousins' bad passage; their not appearing on account of their *négligé*, which Lord M. thought they ought to have done, *at* dinner and certainly after. "I don't know what's the dress I wouldn't appear in, if I was allowed," said Lord M., which made us laugh. After dinner my Cousins came in, in spite of their *négligé*, and I presented them to Lord Melbourne. I sat on the sofa with Lady Clanricarde, Lord Melbourne sitting near me, and Ernest near us and Albert opposite—(*he* is so handsome and pleasing), and several of the ladies and gentlemen round the sofa. I asked Lord M. if he thought Albert like me, which he is thought (and which is an

¹ Brother of Lord Palmerston.

immense compliment to me). "Oh! yes, he is," said Lord M., "it struck me at once."

Friday, 11th October.—Got up at $\frac{1}{2}$ p. 9 and breakfasted at 10. Wrote to Lord Melbourne. Signed. My dear Cousins came to my room and remained some little time; Albert really is quite charming, and so excessively handsome, such beautiful blue eyes, an exquisite nose, and such a pretty mouth with delicate moustachios and slight but very slight whiskers; a beautiful figure, broad in the shoulders and a fine waist.—At about $\frac{1}{2}$ p. 10 dancing began. I danced 5 quadrilles; (1) with Ernest; (2) with dearest Albert, who dances so beautifully; (3) with Lord Alfred; (4) with Ernest; and (5) with dearest Albert again. After the 1st quadrille there was a Valse; after the 2nd and 3rd Gallops; and after the 4th another Valse; it is quite a pleasure to look at Albert when he gallops and vales, he does it so beautifully, holds himself so well with that beautiful figure of his.

Saturday, 12th October.—At 20 m. p. 3 I rode out with my cousins, Mamma, Lord Melbourne, Daisy, and the same party as the day before with the exception of Lord Granville, Lord Normanby, Lord Surrey and Mr. Byng; and came home at $\frac{1}{2}$ p. 5. I rode Friar, who went beautifully. I rode the whole time between Albert (with whom I talked a good deal) and Lord Melbourne, who, out of anxiety lest I should suffer from his horse shying against me, rode his white-faced horse, which he has not ridden since he came down with him, and which isn't half as easy as the other, nor so safe; it was so kind and I felt it so much, but it grieved me; luckily the horse went safe and quiet.

Sunday, 13th October.—At 11 I went to church with Mamma and my beloved cousins (in my carriage) and all the other ladies (except Daisy) and gentlemen, to St. George's. Besides Mamma and my 2 Cousins, Lady Sandwich, Lord Melbourne, Lord Palmerston, Lord Falkland and Alvensleben were in the Closet with me. Dearest Albert sat near me, who enjoyed the music excessively and thought it quite beautiful.

Lord M. said he had a gossiping letter from Lady Holland, which he read to me; as he thought I couldn't read it. Talked of Spain; Alava's pleasure at being asked, and his saying in a letter he did not wish to change his name for any other. Talked of my cousins having gone to Frogmore; the length of their stay being left to me; and I said seeing them had a good deal changed my opinion (as to marrying), and that I must decide soon, which was a difficult thing. "You would take another week," said Lord M.; "certainly a very fine young man, very good-looking," in which I most readily agreed, and said he was so amiable and good tempered, and that I had such a bad temper; of my being the 1st now to own the advantage of beauty, which Lord M. said smiling he had told me was not to be despised, in spite of what I had said to him about it. Talked of my cousins being religious. "That strong Protestant feeling is a good thing in this country," he said, "if it isn't intolerant,"—which I assured him it was not. I had great fun with my dear cousins after dinner. I sat on the sofa with dearest Albert; Lord Melbourne sitting near me, Ernest playing at chess, and many being seated round the table. I looked at some drawings by Stephano della Bella and Domenichino, with Albert, and then we gave them to Lord Melbourne.

Monday, 14th October.—Talked of my Cousins' having gone out shooting. After a little pause I said to Lord M., that I had made up my mind (about marrying dearest Albert).—"You have?" he said; "well then, about the time?" Not for a year, I thought; which he said was too long; that Parliament must be assembled in order to make a provision for him, and that if it was settled "it shouldn't be talked about," said Lord M.; "it prevents any objection, though I don't think there'll be much; on the contrary," he continued with tears in his eyes, "I think it'll be very well received; for I hear there is an anxiety now that it should be; and I'm very glad of it; I think it is a very good thing, and you'll be much more comfortable; for a woman cannot stand

alone for long, in whatever situation she is." Lord M. said then that he wondered if I didn't wish to have it directly (which I said I didn't), as in that case Parliament would have to be assembled before; but if I didn't, that it had better be in January or February, after Parliament met; not later; upon which I observed, "So soon." "You are rather alarmed when it comes to be put in that way," he said laughing; which I assured him I was not. Then I asked, if I hadn't better tell Albert of my decision soon, in which Lord M. agreed. How? I asked, for that in general such things were done the other way,—which made Lord M. laugh. That Uncle Leopold and Uncle Ernest should know it; of settling my own time; and then for some time of what should be done for him; George of Denmark would be the person to look back to; he was Lord High Admiral, Lord M. said; of making him a Peer—my being against it. A Field Marshal he ought to be made, just like Uncle; and anyhow a Royal Highness; of how I should say it to Albert; Lord M. thought there was no harm in people's guessing the thing; he said that he would mention it to John Russell and Palmerston, and perhaps the Chancellor. When we got up, I took Lord M.'s hand, and said he was always *so* kind to me,—which he has always been; he was *so* kind, *so fatherly* about all this. I felt *very* happy. Read despatches. Wrote to Ernest and Albert sending them things. Wrote my journal. At 8 we dined. Prince Esterhazy, Lord Uxbridge and the Ladies E. and C. Paget dined here. Prince Esterhazy led me in, and I sat between him and my dearest Albert, with whom I talked a great deal. Lord Melbourne sat opposite between Lady C. Dundas and Ellen. Talked to Lord Melbourne after dinner of my hearing Albert couldn't sleep these last few days; nor I either, I added; that he asked a good deal about England, about which I tried to give him the most agreeable idea. "I mentioned it to J. Russell," said Lord M., but that J. Russell was very anxious it should be told to very few, as it was so difficult to *deny* such a thing when it was really settled;

and that if I could talk to Albert about it and settle it with him but no one else, which I said I would. "I'll talk to you about it more fully to-morrow," Lord M. said.

Tuesday, 15th October.—Saw my dear Cousins come home quite safe from the Hunt, and charge up the hill at an immense pace. Saw Esterhazy. At about $\frac{1}{2}$ p. 12 I sent for Albert; he came to the Closet where I was alone, and after a few minutes I said to him, that I thought he must be aware *why* I wished them to come here,—and that it would make me *too happy* if he would consent to what I wished (to marry me). We embraced each other, and he was *so* kind, *so* affectionate. I told him I was quite unworthy of him,—he said he would be very happy "*das Leben mit dir zu zubringen*," and was so kind, and seemed so happy, that I really felt it was the happiest brightest moment in my life. I told him it was a great sacrifice,—which he wouldn't allow; I then told him of the necessity of keeping it a secret, except to his father and Uncle Leopold and Stockmar, to whom he said he would send a Courier next day,—and also that it was to be as early as the beginning of February. I then told him to fetch Ernest, which he did and he congratulated us both and seemed very happy. I feel the happiest of human beings.

At 25 m. p. 1 came Lord Melbourne and stayed with me till 20 m. p. 2. He was well and had slept well. Talked of the weather; he read me a letter about this Lord Huntingdon,¹ who seems to be very proud and tenacious of his rights and rank, as Lord M. already knew, and as his Uncle-in-law Lord Carew writes. Talked of that, of William Cowper's coming down, and George Anson; I then began and said I had got well through this with Albert. "Oh! you have," said Lord M.; and I continued that he had said he would let no one perceive that anything of the kind had taken place;

¹ Francis Henry, twelfth Earl.

that he seemed very happy, and his brother as happy as him, only that *he* (E.) said he was the only loser by it, as his brother had been everything to him. Lord M. then said—if I had wished to have it immediately—that Parliament must be assembled. He said there was a great deal of talking going on about it; Lady Holland had written about it. Before this Lord M. said, "You can then (when married) do much more what you like." "Normanby wishes it," said Lord M. "He wishes the thing should be done and thinks it the best." "John Russell said," continued Lord M. with tears in his eyes, "his only wish is that you should be happy," which I said I hadn't a doubt of.

Wednesday, 16th October.—Talked of Albert's behaving so wonderfully, so that no one could imagine that anything had taken place; Ernest's saying *he* couldn't bear it, if he was in such a situation. "I find you must declare it in Council," said Lord M., when it is to be announced; "it is quite done by you; you assemble the Privy Councillors and announce it to them; that is what George III. did." Talked of making him a Peer, which Lord M. said he should like to take other people's opinion upon; but I talked of the necessity of his having precedence of everyone else. "There'll be no difficulty about that," said Lord M., "as everybody will see the propriety of that." . . .

Saturday, 19th October.—My dearest Albert came to me at 10 m. to 12 and stayed with me till 20 m. p. 1. Such a pleasant happy time. He looked over my shoulder and watched me writing to the Duchess of Northumberland, and to the Duchess of Sutherland; and he scraped out some mistakes I had made. I told him I felt so grateful to him and would do everything to make him happy. I gave him a ring with the date of the ever dear to me *15th* engraved in it. I also gave him a little seal I used to wear. I asked if he would let me have a little of his dear hair.

Later.—Talked to Lord M. of Saxons, and who were descended from Saxons or Normans. I asked what he

was ; Saxon, he said ; and Palmerston, Saxon ; Cowper he wasn't so sure of ; and Paget I thought sounded Norman ; and Lord M. told me a curious anecdote about the Pagets. " Their ancestor asked to have a *patch* of land, which was this great Beaudesert, and it was given to him, but they said to him, ' You must call yourself Patchet.' " The first Lord Coke, Lord M. said, was accused of acquiring so much property, and he asked leave to buy *one acre* more, and that was the great estate of Castle Acre. Talked of this Patchet. " I remember her very well," Lord M. replied, " she was nurse to some of them ; to Lord Hertford, Lady Louisa Murray and me." I told Lord M. I had another present for him, which I feared would bore him. " Oh ! no," he said ; and I told him, as he had said to me his writing-case was too old, I begged he would let me offer him one. " I'm very much obliged to you," he said, " you may depend upon it I shall always keep it."

Monday, 21st October.—Talked of my cousins hunting, and Lord M. said, " William Cowper said *the Prince* (Albert) rode like an old hand." Heard from Lord Melbourne that there was a report in London that Brougham had been killed by falling out of a carriage. When I came out of my room into the Gallery, Lord Uxbridge told us he had seen the letter from a Mr. Shafto (who had been in the carriage with Brougham) to Mr. Montgomery, saying Brougham was killed ; and Lord Uxbridge said there could be no doubt ; and Mr. Leader so hurt (who had been also in the carriage) as not thought likely he would live. The gentlemen came out with us. I talked to Lord Melbourne about Brougham, and how it had happened—his having been kicked on the head by the horse and then driven over ; I observed it was a very striking thing. " Oh ! very ; I've a great feeling about it myself," said Lord M., greatly affected. " I have known him 37 years ; and somehow or other he always stood by me " ; which I observed I thought he had certainly *not* done, and that it was all Lord M.'s excellent kind heart. Lord M. thinks he would have come round to us,

and that the death of "a man of weight" was always a bad thing. Talked of his wife being ill left.¹

Tuesday, 22nd October.—Talked of the accounts of Brougham and how he had been killed. "I've seen the Chancellor," said Lord M., "and have told him" (about Albert). We heard before we went out that Brougham was *not* dead, and that it was all a hoax. Too monstrous this is!

Wednesday, 23rd October.—At 12 Lord Melbourne came to me and stayed with me till 1. Talked of the weather; of a letter of Count d'Orsay's, denying that *he* had spread the report about Brougham, which he was accused of having done. "If Shafto has really written this letter," said Lord M., "nothing on earth will ever make them believe it isn't Brougham who has written it." I said I heard D'Orsay and Brougham said they knew for certain I wouldn't marry Albert. . . .

Thursday, 31st October.—After this Lord M. gave me some more extracts to read, which Anson had sent him, about Queen Anne and George of Denmark, by which it seems he always led the Queen in and sat on her left hand; which Lord M. said I could settle respecting Albert as I liked. They don't seem certain if George of Denmark had the Garter, which we both thought very odd.² Talked of Albert's being made a Privy Councillor; of how the Declaration should be made; about the end of November in an open Council, which I thought disagreeable, but which Lord M. said must be. Of when the marriage should be; about the 6th of February—not later.

Friday, 1st November, 1839.—After this Lord M. took up the *Annual Register* of the year 1761, and read me an exact and minute account of George III.'s Declaration

¹ On Tuesday, 22nd October, the *Morning Post* and *Morning Chronicle*, assuming that the report was well founded, published eloquent and generous obituary notices, but *The Times* discredited the rumour. There had indeed been a carriage accident, but the servants alone had been injured. It has been assumed that the rumour of his own death was originated by Brougham himself.

² He was made a K.G., and in his portraits is represented with the ribbon of the Garter.

to the Council of his Marriage; of Queen Charlotte's coming over, her reception, the marriage, the procession to and from the Chapel Royal, and all the entertainments that followed it, which must have been awfully fatiguing. Talked of the whole being in state, and I said laughing to Lord M. I thought he said it was *not* in state, in order to get out of it, which made him laugh much. "It must be just the same," he said, of course; and my train borne by young ladies; two of those who carried Queen Charlotte's train were Lady Sarah Lennox and Lady Susan Strangways.¹ Talked of my not being obliged to have so many Fêtes as they had; of sending two of my gentlemen to bring Albert over; the Duchesses of Ancaster² and Hamilton³ (the Duke of Argyll's mother) went over to fetch her⁴; the former was her Mistress of the Robes, and the latter her Lady of the Bedchamber.

Monday, 4th November.—Lord M. said to me, his sister had told him she had written to old Mr. Henry Cowper about her marriage, and had received a very kind letter from him saying that he quite approved of it; and she intends to have it in December after the Cabinets are over. "'The only person I fear now,' she said, 'is the Queen,'" said Lord M., "'as she may think it foolish in a person of my age marrying.'" . . .

Friday, 8th November.—At 25 m. p. 6 came Lord Melbourne and stayed with me till 20 m. to 7. He was in a strange costume, that is to say, light white and grey striped calico trousers with very large shoes. I feared I had interrupted him in his sleep, which he wouldn't allow, but which I think *was* the case. . . .

Tuesday, 12th November.—At 20 m. to 1 Lord Melbourne came to me and stayed with me till 20 m. p. 1. I then told him Uncle Leopold had written to Albert

¹ The friend of Lady Sarah Lennox. She married the actor, William O'Brien.

² Wife of the third Duke of Ancaster.

³ Elizabeth Gunning, who married firstly the sixth Duke of Hamilton and secondly the sixth Duke of Argyll. She was also created Baroness Hamilton in her own right.

⁴ *I.e.* Queen Charlotte.

urging very strongly his being made a Peer,¹ which I said we were both so against; and that Uncle said he refused it because he could not have voted with the King's Government. Lord M. said he had never heard *why* Uncle refused it, and *why* they afterwards refused to give it him when he wished to have it. Uncle says George of Denmark was Duke of Kendal²; even if he was, said Lord M. (which he doubts), he never was called so; and we agreed that if A. and I didn't like it, there was no reason why the thing should be pressed; for that it could always be done hereafter. I said Albert wished to see Lord M. and wished to know if he might say to Uncle that Lord M. was against it. Lord M. agreed to this, but said he was anxious it shouldn't be said he opposed it.

Sunday, 24th November.—Talked of who the 10 young ladies should be, and showed him a list of Queen Charlotte's. I sent for the Peerage, and Lord M. read through *all* the Dukes, and we decided besides Car Lennox to have Lady Augusta Somerset, the Duke of Beaufort's daughter. Then through all the Marquises, and we thought of Lady Marianne Compton³; and then through all the Earls,—Elizabeth Howard⁴ decided upon, besides Fanny, Wilhelmine, and Mary Grimston, and Ellen; and then Sarah Villiers,⁵ which Lord M. said he could find out through his sister. Mary Lambton⁶ we then thought of, instead of Lady Marianne Compton, as it would please Durham.

¹ King Leopold's reason was that he thought the Prince should have an English name and title. The Queen wrote to the Prince about this time: "Lord Melbourne told me yesterday that the whole Cabinet are strongly of opinion that you should *not* be made a Peer. I will write that to Uncle."

² In 1684, the year after his marriage, Prince George was made a K.G. In 1689 he was naturalized, and created Baron of Ockingham, Earl of Kendal, and Duke of Cumberland.

³ Daughter of the Marquess of Northampton, and afterwards well known and deeply respected as Lady Marianne Alford.

⁴ Daughter of the sixth Earl of Carlisle, afterwards wife of the Rev. and Hon. F. R. Grey.

⁵ Daughter of Lord Jersey, and afterwards wife of Prince Nicholas Esterhazy, eldest son of the diplomatist Prince Paul Esterhazy.

⁶ Afterwards wife of the eighth Earl of Elgin.

Thursday, 28th November.—Talked of having good news from my Cousins, and their thinking Uncle so well; Albert's having talked to Uncle Leopold about his being a Peer, Uncle's giving many reasons for having it, but Albert's saying it was best to wait and see. Lord M. said he had seen Sir William Woods, who told him the Garter could easily be sent at any time; he had shown Lord M. some very curious precedents of former Royal Marriages, of Queen Mary's and Philip's¹; and that George III.'s² was the scene of the greatest confusion that ever took place; he has notes which show that *none* of that procession took place, and that we must make this different; and there was one curious thing, Lord M. said; I had observed that George III. didn't lead the Queen out; well, it was settled they should go separate, but by these Notes it says the King insisted on leading her out and did so. Talked of the Chapel Royal; Uncle Leopold's being married at Carlton House in private.

Friday, 29th November.—"I've got all these papers," he said, and he read me a letter from Sir William Woods to Anson, and then a very curious account of Queen Mary's marriage to Philip, who was only *Prince* of Spain then; and it was announced in the Cathedral at Winchester, where they were married, that his father gave him the Kingdom of Naples; Queen Mary was given away by 3 of her gentlemen in the name of the *realm*. Lord M. then showed me the Act of naturalization of George Prince of Denmark; and read me an account of the marriage of the Princess Royal to the Hereditary Prince of Wurtemberg.³ Lord M. said he would get these papers copied for me.

Friday, 6th December.—Talked of the attacks against the omission of the word "Protestant" in the Declaration. "You mustn't think it belongs to the Party,"⁴ said Lord

¹ Philip and Mary were married with great pomp in Winchester Cathedral, 25th July, 1554.

² George III. was married in the Chapel Royal, St. James's, at 10 o'clock in the evening of 8th September, 1761.

³ The marriage of George III.'s eldest daughter to Frederick Charles, Duke and afterwards King of Wurtemberg, took place in 1797.

⁴ The Tory Party.

M., "now you'll see not one word will be said about it in Parliament"; that he heard Lyndhurst deplored it very much; I thought it was Croker's doing, as he had asked Lord M. about the word Protestant being left out. Lord M. said he *on purpose* left out what was put in George III.'s Declaration, which was, that the Princess was a lineal descendant of a House which had always been warmly attached to the Protestant Religion, as that didn't say anything about *her* religion; and Lord M. said he left that out on purpose *not* to attract attention, as else they would have said that wasn't true, and that many of the family had collapsed into Catholicism. . . .

Saturday, 7th December.—Talked of Philip, Queen Mary's husband, having been Titular King of England, which however Lord M. said he disliked so much, and that he disliked her. Talked of Princess Charlotte having always said she would make Uncle King if she came to the Throne. Talked of William III. having insisted on being King *de facto*, which Bishop Burnet settled with Queen Mary for him, and William said he (Bp. B.) had settled in an hour what he had been contemplating for years. I said she (Mary) was a cruel woman, which Lord M. wouldn't allow, and said, "She had been the handsomest woman in Europe."¹ He said William always left her to settle his affairs while he was abroad; she died in '93 or '94, he thinks. Talked of Queen Anne, who he said had also been handsome, which I said couldn't be the case, and that the Bust of her in the Gallery here was very ugly. "That was done when she was old," said Lord M., "when she had had 15 or 16 children."

Sunday, 8th December.—Uncle is also full of the necessity of a Marriage Treaty. "I think the best, Ma'am, would be," said Lord M., "if you approve, for Stockmar to be instructed with all they wish to be done, and to be sent over here directly, so as to settle it here before the Meeting of Parliament," which I quite agreed in. Lord

¹ It is difficult to imagine the source from which the Queen had gathered this impression of Queen Mary. It was probably the unqualified inference from the fact that she never showed much tenderness towards her father, James II.

M. observed Uncle thought a Treaty safer, and perhaps it might be, though he thought an Act of Parliament equally so. Talked of my letter from Albert being from Coburg. Talked of sending a drawing of these Arms to Albert, and how we should settle about the Seal. "The Arms¹ are rather a ticklish thing to meddle with," said Lord M., "as they are not *your* arms but the arms of the Country,"—which is very true. . . .

Wednesday, 11th December.—"Here's the Chancellor's answer about this bill of naturalization," said Lord M. "I wrote to him to consider it," and Lord M. then read it; he thinks the same course as that pursued in Uncle Leopold's case should be followed; and agreed that Albert should certainly have precedence² over the Royal Dukes. "And now he mentions what I never thought of when I talked of it to Your Majesty, 'and even I think before the *Queen's Children*,'" Lord M. read. Lord M. then said he thought he never could go before the Prince of Wales, before the Heir-Apparent; but *I* said *they* never could go before their father. The Chancellor concludes by saying, it would be very disagreeable if the Parties concerned were not to concur; I said I felt certain both the Duke of Sussex and the Duke of Cambridge would *not* object to this, and that otherwise Albert's position would *not* be bearable. He talked of Mrs. Hamilton (Margaret Dillon), and Lord M. asked, "How many children? Why, the measure of married happiness is to have a great number of children," said Lord M. . . .

Wednesday, 18th December.—Then he talked of a mistake there was in those "points" they had written from Coburg, viz. that I had the right to appoint my Husband Regent, which I have not. Lord M. says he must consult the Chancellor about many other things. George IV. bought a good deal of property, he said. There was a

¹ The Queen had sent a little drawing of the Arms made by herself to the Prince at Coburg.

² Lord Melbourne ultimately advised the Queen that it was unnecessary to say anything about the Prince's precedence in the Bill, as she could, by her own Sovereign Act, grant him any precedence she pleased.

bill brought in, in George III.'s reign, Lord M. continued, enabling him to make a will, which till then no King could. . . .

Sunday, 22nd December.—I continued Albert's position would be too difficult if he must go after *all*, that he *ought* to have the title of King, that power wasn't worth having if I couldn't even give him the *rank* he ought to have. "You can't give it him but by Act of Parliament,"¹ said Lord M. "Here's the Chancellor's answer to that letter" (those questions and propositions from Coburg), which Lord M. then read to me, and which are very clear and good. Respecting the Succession to Coburg, he says *they* may settle *there* what they like, to which we shall not dissent but agree; but that *we* cannot *legislate here* about a Foreign Succession. He states likewise that I cannot appoint Albert Guardian to my children—for that if my son was of age when I died, he, as *King*, would be Guardian of his brothers and sisters, and if he were *not* of age, then there would be a Regency. "These are our laws," he said, and he added laughing, "I don't know if they are right." He wished me to send a copy of these answers to Albert, and he would send one to Uncle Leopold.

Monday, 23rd December.—Lord M. said how singular it was, that since William the Conqueror, that there had only been 3 Queens, and that those were only Queens by extraordinary circumstances; the title of Prince of Wales only belongs to a man, he said, there can be no Princess of Wales (in her own right). Talked of Queen Mary having been a good deal persecuted and ill-used by Edward VI., and Lord M. said, as a proof, Edward said he hoped he should not be obliged to proceed to violent measures against her. Talked of Hallam's not having a good opinion of Cranmer; saying what he had done when he became Archbishop, but that as he was burnt, everybody thought him a Saint. Lord M. said he was "very shuffling," and that he heard that somebody was

¹ This refers to the Title of King. Any other rank the Queen could bestow by her own act.

going to publish a life of Cranmer, tending to lower him very much in the eyes of the world,—upon which the Archbishop of Canterbury wrote to say he had better not do it, “not rake all that up,” for that “after all he is our first Protestant Archbishop.”

Sunday, 29th December.—Talked of the Provost of Eton,¹ his having looked so ill at church. Lord M. always liked him, and said he taught so well. “Very clever man,” said Lord M., “he wrote Latin verses as quick as he could speak; I think he made his house gentlemanlike, which was rather wanted when I was there; he was what is the worst thing for a schoolmaster, a timid man; he was a very good-natured man. School-boys certainly are the greatest set of blackguards,” he continued; “sure sign of a shuffling blackguard at school, is to have no hat, and a great-coat without another coat under it, and no book.” . . .

Tuesday, 31st December.—I said funnily I thought Lord M. didn’t like Albert so much as he would if he wasn’t so strict. “Oh! no, I highly respect it,” said Lord M. I then talked of A.’s saying I ought to be severe about people. “Then you’ll be liable to make every sort of mistake. In this country all should go by law and precedent,” said Lord M., “and not by what you hear.”²

¹ Dr. Goodall.

² It must be remembered that the Prince was little over nineteen years old, and that his standards of right and wrong, always high and noble, were tinged at this time with the uncompromising severity of youth. In after-years he adopted to the full Lord Melbourne’s formula, and never acted upon hearsay.

CHAPTER VIII

1840

Wednesday, 1st January.—Lord M. asked if I had read the Paper for Nesselrode about sending a Russian Minister to Brussels, and stating the reasons why they couldn't do so,—on account of the Poles, which I said was only an excuse. Talked of the danger for us of an alliance between France and Russia, when the former might say Russia might take Constantinople, and Russia would let France go up to the Rhine; on the other hand, Lord M. said, France dreaded an alliance between England and Russia, when *we* might let Russia take Constantinople, and they let us take Egypt and Syria. The *only* country sincerely *friendly* to England, Lord M. says, is Austria. I feel *most grateful* for all the blessings I have received in the past year, the acquaintance and love of dearest Albert! I only implore Providence to protect me and those who are most dear to me in *this* and many succeeding years, and to grant that the *true* and *good* cause may prosper for *this year* and *many* years to come, under the guidance of my kind Lord Melbourne!

Thursday, 2nd January.—Talked of Hallam, and his account of Jane Grey's having 2 sisters. "He tells it very clearly," Lord M. said; "that was a sad scene" and not poor Jane's fault. Talked of Elizabeth's imprisoning that unfortunate sister of Jane's, Catherine, for marrying; Lord M. said, "When the Princess Elizabeth" (our Queen) "was sent to the Tower, she inquired very particularly if Jane Grey's scaffold was still up."

Friday, 3rd January.—Talked of Pozzo's not returning



From the original in the possession of the Earl of Rosebery

Viscount Melbourne
from a portrait by Sir Edwin Landseer R.A.
in the possession of the Earl of Rosebery

here; his being violent against the Coburg Family, and we couldn't think why. Lord M. said he wondered what the feelings of the Russians were about Princess Charlotte's marriage with Uncle Leopold; George IV.'s wishing for the Prince of Orange; Lord M. said he knew nothing about it; his (George IV.) disliking Uncle Leopold and also his daughter. I said Lord Anglesey told me he had a great hand in persuading the Regent to let Princess Charlotte marry Uncle Leopold. "That may be true," said Lord M., but he had never heard it before. Talked of George IV.'s disliking Uncle Leopold; Lord M. said it was just like George IV. Lord M. talked of Queen Charlotte's excusing her son; George IV. being fond of his mother. Talked of my being surprised that as George III. and Queen Charlotte were so strict and demure, the sons should all run so wild. Talked of the Spaniards being very sober, and Lord M. said quite seriously, "Somehow or other those sober nations don't get on well amongst other nations," which made us laugh exceedingly. Lord M. said there was no doubt that a *sober man* got on better than a drunken one, but not so whole nations. . . .

Tuesday, 7th January.—Lord M. talked of franking being nearly over—on the 9th is the last day¹; I said I wished so much to have one of Lord M.'s franked on the last day, and if he would frank one to me. He said he couldn't *frank* one to me; people would say that was a very odd thing to do"; but I begged him then to frank one to one of the Ladies for me, which he said he would.

BUCKINGHAM PALACE, *Friday, January 10th.*—Talked of Stockmar's saying it was much better to settle as much as possible verbally with Albert when he came, which Lord M. quite agreed in; of Stockmar's not saying where he lived, and Lord M. having sent all over the Town to find him out. "He said," said Lord M., "which

¹ The Penny Postage, which incidentally abolished franking, came into operation on January 10th. The idea emanated from Rowland Hill, and the work of initiating the new system was entrusted to him.

is no great comfort to me, 'I've known 3 Ministers, Canning, Liverpool, and Castlereagh, and they all sank under it, and I shouldn't be surprised if your mind was to affect your digestion.'" He asked if "the frank" arrived safe, which I said it did, but that I thought it wasn't his best writing. "I took great pains," he replied. "Minny wrote to me for 2, for Lady Charlotte Sturt¹ and Lady Emma Pennant²; and Lady Georgina Codrington³ wrote to me for one." Talked of my thinking this new Penny Postage was disliked by the higher classes. Talked of Albert's not quite understanding about his Household, and about the Treasurer, which, however, I said, I should make him easily understand. "Don't let any difficulty stand in the way about George Anson,"⁴ said Lord M. kindly, but I said G. Anson was the fit person and that I should easily make him understand it. "If I had thought of it," Lord M. continued, "it would have been best if Stockmar had come over directly. He didn't like to press himself," Lord M. said. Talked of Stockmar's thinking Uncle Leopold so very ill; "I'm very sorry for that," said Lord M. I said independent of the great loss he would be for us all, what a dreadful thing it would be for the country. "Would throw us all into confusion," said Lord M.; that there must be a Regency then, and who could it be? they might name *her*, he said, but I replied she would not have the nerve for it. "Perhaps she would if she was put to it," he said. "That was the great thing about Queen Mary," he continued, "when he (William III.) was in Ireland he could leave her with perfect safety and confidence,—and she managed so well."

¹ Wife of Henry Charles Sturt, M.P. for Dorset, and daughter of the sixth Earl of Cardigan. Her eldest son was the first Lord Alington.

² Second wife of David Pennant, junior, of Bodfari, and daughter of Robert, sixth Earl of Cardigan.

³ Wife of Christopher George Codrington of Dodington, and daughter of the seventh Duke of Beaufort.

⁴ George Anson was private secretary to Lord Melbourne. At first the Prince resented the selection of Anson to act in a similar capacity for him; but they became ultimately firm friends. Anson was a faithful and most judicious servant to the Prince until his premature death in 1849.

Sunday, 12th January.—Talked of the new Postage. "My Tutor at Eton was the best person I ever knew for folding up letters," said Lord M. They asked him if he learnt it of him. "Oh! no," he replied, "I'm a very blundering fellow at it." "When Lord North was at school," Lord M. continued, "his Tutor told him, 'You're a blundering blockhead, and if you are Prime Minister it'll always be the same'; 'and it turned out to be so,' Lord North said"; Lord M. told this so delightfully. We were seated as usual, Lord Melbourne sitting near me. They were talking of Paget¹ who is studying at Edinburgh. "They never taught him anything before," Lord M. said, "and now they've launched him at Edinburgh, and God knows what he may learn." The Paget system is never to learn anything, and this they steadily adhere to; "I don't mean *her*," he said, looking at Matilda.² Talked of the Universities in Scotland having gone down excessively. I showed him the Duchess of Gloster's letter giving a better account of the Landgravine. Talked of Albert's people; Lord M. heard Lord Colborne³ recommended; talked of that; Stockmar's saying Albert had no idea how high parties ran here; of its being worse within these last 2 years, and that I was sure it couldn't go on so. "Oh! it will,—it'll lumber along," Lord M. answered. "You mustn't mind those speeches,⁴ that'll never do if they hear you mind them; it's giving them your head, as they say in fighting, to pound upon; dear me! if I chose to go and make abusive speeches," he continued, "I could kill a great many of these people." He said the attacks on George III. were atrocious; and he agreed with me

¹ Eldest son of Lord Uxbridge.

² Miss Paget, the Maid of Honour, niece of Lord Anglesey.

³ Nicholas William Ridley-Colborne (second son of Sir Matthew White-Ridley) was for over a quarter of a century an M.P. on the Whig side. At Lord Melbourne's instance, he was created a peer, as Lord Colborne, in May 1839. He was a patron of art, and bequeathed several pictures to the National Gallery.

⁴ The Tories, at this time, were raising vexatious objections to the Queen's marriage, and doing what they could to minimize the importance of the Prince.

it was a shocking thing. He said Uncle Leopold was very right in saying that character was everything, and that therefore the attempt of one's enemies was to do everything to ruin that character, "which is a horrible practice." I told him I heard he had been cross with Lady Holland the last time he dined there and had told her she hated all her friends. "Who told you that?" Lord M. asked. "It's true," he continued, and that he told her she had a spite against J. Russell, Duncannon and Minto, whom she had known as children. "I wonder at your hearing that," he added.

Monday, 13th January.—I asked if on the Wedding day, as I should *not drive* in full state, and Albemarle said he did not make a point of going with me, I should take Mamma with me. "Yes, I think so," said Lord M. "I think it would be a very right thing to do on that day." Talked of the Treaty being settled easily; of the Cabinet dinner at the Chancellor's in the evening. "We shall settle the Speech to-night," he said, "and let you have it to-morrow morning." I said I felt very nervous about reading it and beginning with my Marriage. "If you say it to 20, or 20,000, it's the same thing," he said, which is true enough.

Tuesday, 14th January.—Talked of other things; of absurd reports in the papers of Lord M.'s resigning after my marriage; he said he *never* dropt a word which could give rise to such a report. "I'm afraid it's our own people who spread these reports," he said, "Bannerman and Ellice" (who always go together). "When people say a report prevails it generally makes me suspect that they spread it," Lord M. said. Talked of Stockmar, and how he was, and Lord M. said, "I should like to see him when he has seen people and made his estimate of the state of things; I think he is about the cleverest man I ever knew in my life," he added, "a little misanthropic"; and a good man, I said. "An excellent man," Lord M. replied, "he has rather a contempt of human affairs and means; a bad digestion."

Thursday, 16th January.—At $\frac{1}{2}$ p. 1 I set off in the

State Coach, with Lord Albemarle and the Duchess of Sutherland, and the whole procession just as usual, to the House of Lords. The House was very full; my good Lord Melbourne just as usual standing close next to me. Wonderful to say, I was less nervous than I had ever been. The Duke of Cambridge was there. There was an immense crowd of people outside, and both coming and going I was loudly cheered, more so than I have been for some time. Uxbridge told me the Duke of Wellington had made a sad mistake by moving that the word *Protestant* be put into the address, and saying¹ it was left out to please O'Connell!! and that Lord Melbourne had replied beautifully to it. Then that Sir John Yarde-Buller² had given notice in the House of C. of a Motion on the 28th of want of confidence in Ministers!! I was so angry. Immediately after dinner I wrote to Lord M. begging he would come. Meanwhile I received a letter from him giving an account of the Debate; and very soon after a note saying he was undressed, but would dress and come directly. At $\frac{1}{2}$ p. 10 my good Lord Melbourne came and stayed with me till 5 m. to 11. I saw him upstairs as of a morning. I said I was shocked to have made him come out, but that I hadn't then received his box, and Uxbridge had alarmed me. He was quite dressed,—really so *very, very* kind of him to come. The Duke of W. had been very foolish, he said; Lord M., however, consented to the word being inserted. "J. Russell sent to say he wished it should be put in," Lord M. said, "as he thought there might be an awkward division about it in the House of Commons." Lord M. asked if I had heard from the H. of C.; I replied I had about this Notice of Sir J. Yarde-Buller's, but that I

¹ The Queen wrote to the Prince that "The Tories made a great disturbance, saying that you are a Papist, because the words *a Protestant Prince* have not been put into the Declaration—a thing which would be quite unnecessary, seeing that I cannot marry a Papist."

² Disraeli in his *Life of Bentinck* calls Sir John Yarde-Buller Peel's "choice and pattern country gentleman, whom he had himself selected and invited to move a vote of want of confidence in the Whig Government, in order, against the feeling of the court, to instal Sir Robert Peel in their stead."

thought there could be no alarm about it. "No, I hope not," Lord M. replied, and we agreed this was the best shape they could put it into for us, as our people will be sure to go with us upon this. "They say they wish to see which is the strongest," Lord M. said. Talked of a General Election. "We have always lost (by that) hitherto since the Reform Bill," he said.

Friday, 17th January.—After dinner Lord Melbourne and I looked at the picture of Albert. "The head is like," he said, "very good—fine expression—melancholy" (as it is), "which is good for a picture." Lord M. don't like a *fine hand* or a *fat hand* for a man. He made me laugh by saying, "The arms are one of the principal points in a woman." He looked at the picture of Queen Mary (which with one of William III. and 2 other portraits have replaced those 4 landscapes), and he said, "She was the handsomest woman in Europe; I consider her as the first of the Stuarts; she managed everything so well, and the perfect confidence he had in her." We looked at William III., whom he again praised very much and said wasn't cruel. "It was only that accident at Glencoe," he said. . . .

Sunday, 19th January.—Talked of Albert's indifference about Ladies, and Lord M. said, "A little dangerous, all that is,—it's very well if that holds, but it doesn't always," Lord M. said. I said this was very wrong of him, and scolded him for it. "It's what I said at Windsor; I think I know human nature pretty well." I said not the *best* of human nature. "I've known the best of my time," he said, "and I've read of the best."

Monday, 20th January.—Talked of Mr. Wakley¹ attacking the Tories for disloyalty. Talked of Hallam and my liking it so much; his giving an account of the persecu-

¹ Mr. Wakley was Radical M.P. for Finsbury and founder and editor of *The Lancet*. Sir E. Knatchbull had complained of the want of notice; Mr. Wakley said not one in a hundred of the members who went with the Speaker was a Conservative, whereupon Mr. Blackstone retorted that not only was he there, but to his surprise had seen the brother of a Cabinet Minister in the Queen's presence "dressed in a cut-off green coat with brass buttons," although the Court at the time was in mourning.

tions in Elizabeth's reign; of Queen Mary of Scots and her innocence. "All the ladies take Queen Mary's part," Lord M. said, "all those who reason like Hallam do quite admit her to be guilty, and all those who consult their feelings, do not." Talked of Darnley's murder, which I maintained her not to have knowledge of, but which Lord M. says she *did* know of. "I think she was quite right to have him knocked on the head," Lord M. said funnily, which made me laugh. Talked of Rizzio's murder, and poor Mary's cruel fate. Lord M. said Elizabeth was very reluctant to have her executed, and that the whole country demanded it. I said Hallam says that Walsingham and Leicester urged Elizabeth to persecute the Roman Catholics; Lord M. said, as I know and Hallam says, that Leicester was a bad man. "Whenever he (Lord Burleigh) put anything before her," Lord M. continued, "he always put the reasons on both sides in 2 columns, which may have been a very good way, but I think a way to puzzle," in which I quite agree; I couldn't bear it, I'm sure. Talked of Essex—his being a fine character—his conduct in Ireland—his sudden return—his unfortunate death, and the possibility of his having been saved if it had not been for the Countess of Nottingham. "It killed her" (Elizabeth), Lord M. said. Talked of Hallam containing so much knowledge which one hadn't before known, and Lord M. said he couldn't recommend a better book. I observed to Lord M. he didn't seem at all low. "No, I'm much better," he replied, "but still I'm not well." I entreated him to take some good advice about his health. "That won't do any good," he said, "it's age and that constant care"; which alas! alas! is but too true. "I'm nearly 61," he continued, "many men die at 63, and if they get over that, live till 70." I told him he mustn't talk in that way. "People like me grow old at once, who have been rather young for their age." I said he still was that. "Still, I feel a great change since last year," he said.¹ I feel certain his valuable health and life will be spared yet

¹ He died aged sixty-nine, but, like his father, much enfeebled.

many a year. His father lived to be 83, but was very feeble, he said, for many years, and that it was not worth living then; his mother died at 66. "She had been a very strong woman till then," Lord M. said, "but she declined and sank rapidly." I begged Lord M. to take great care of himself, as he belonged to all of us; and he promised he would.

Tuesday, 21st January.—I showed him Uncle Leopold's letter. I also showed Lord M. Stockmar's letter, in which he talks of a Clause in the 2nd Article of the Marriage Treaty, which Stockmar had taken upon himself to agree to; it's about Albert's having no other Claims besides the £50,000¹ settled on him. "It's the same which was put in to Queen Mary's with Philip," Lord M. said. "It is impossible to say what claims a man may have who marries a Queen, over the property of the Crown; I'm afraid there'll be a good deal of observation about the Prince's Provision; they'll say it's too much"; which I said would be wrong. The Prince's position was disagreeable enough as it was, I said, but this would make it too bad; that I wouldn't do it for the world. "You wouldn't do it," Lord M. said laughing; "still, if he is a man of discretion he may make it" (his position) "a very considerable one," he added.

Wednesday, 22nd January.—I then said I was so vexed and distressed by poor dear Albert's letter yesterday; that I feared they made him believe abroad that we wanted to degrade him here.² His letter to Lord M., and also to me, were misapprehensions about his Household, and about Lord M.'s letter. "We can't proceed to form his Household now," Lord M. said. I said, Oh! yes,

¹ This was the amount proposed by the Government. Mr. Hume proposed to cut it down to £21,000, but this was negated by a large majority. The whole Conservative party, however, supported an amendment of Colonel Sibthorp to make the Prince's income £30,000 only, and this was carried by 262 to 158.

² The Prince was naturally much annoyed by the attacks and criticisms in Parliament and in certain organs of the Press. They were of a purely party character, and although plainly understood here, were misapprehended abroad, where the match was believed to be unpopular among the English people. This was not the case.

for that I would be answerable for it¹; that I thought Albert didn't quite understand the difference between "standing by" and "acting." I don't quite *understand* his letter," Lord M. said; therefore, I replied, Stockmar and I would let Lord M. have the letter back again. "At the same time, 2 Households are very awkward," Lord M. said, and that there had been great trouble about the Queen Dowager's. We think the number of Albert's ought to be reduced. Talked of my being vexed about the whole; of all that; of its being unfair that the *Queen's husband* should have so much less than the *King's wife* in which Lord M. agreed. Talked of various things, and German being so difficult. "So everybody says," Lord M. said. "Is it possible to be so difficult?" "Oughtn't to know more than one language," he continued. "You can't *speak* one purely if you know a great many,—you mix them. They say you needn't know more than Latin and French"; Greek, Lady Lyttelton mentioned. "There's no necessity for it," he said; its being difficult; "a very copious language," he replied. I observed learning much as I did at once, prevented one from learning anything very well, and bewildered one. "That's very true what you say," Lord M. said, "that's the fault now, they teach too much at once." Talked of teaching being a dreadful thing, the poor children being more eager to learn than the higher classes, and Lady Lyttelton saying the Irish children were so very much quicker in learning than the English. "It's that quickness that leads to that disregard of truth," Lord M. said, "for when you ask them anything, they don't think of what you *say*, but of what they think will *please* you. He told me at dinner that he was having a new *full-dress* coat made, for the *great* occasion, which was "like building a 74-gun ship" in point of trouble and work, and that he had had the man with him in the morning, trying it on and pinning and stitching.

¹ See *Letters of Queen Victoria*, pp. 254-62, for all the little troubles which arose in connection with the formation of the Prince's Household. In after-years the distinction between the Households was purely nominal.

After this some new *Assam* Tea, which Sir J. Hobhouse had sent me, was brought in, and I gave Lord M. a printed paper which had been sent me with it, which he read out loud and so funnily; there was the opinion of a *Dr. Lum Qua* quoted, which name put him into paroxysms of laughter, from which he couldn't recover for some time, and which did one good to hear. After this I said to him he had been so very kind about all that matter which vexed me so yesterday. "The advantage of Monarchy is unity," Lord M. said, "which is a *little* spoilt by 2 people,—but that must be contended against." "I've no doubt," he continued, "that is what kept Queen Elizabeth from marrying; but you mustn't think that I advocate that; I think that's not right, it's unnatural, and nothing's right that's unnatural." I said I was certain that Albert wouldn't interfere. "Oh! I haven't the slightest doubt that he won't interfere," he replied warmly; and I added that that was the very reason why he might run into the other extreme. "My letter may have appeared dictating," he said, which I said was not the case; "that's my way of writing, I write so to you, and did to the King." I said I was sure it would all do very well in a little time. "*You* understand it all," he said, "you have always lived here"; and I had had three years' experience, I said. "But you had just the same capability for affairs," Lord M. said, "when you came to the Throne, as you have now,—you were just as able; I'm for making people of age much sooner." He again went into an amazing fit of laughter about *Dr. Lum Qua*.

Thursday, 23rd January.—Talked of a novel by Miss Martineau¹ called *Deerbrook*, which Lady Lyttelton was praising very much, and which she said was about the Middle Classes. "I don't like the Middle Classes," Lord M. said, "they say that the Upper and Lower

¹ Miss Martineau had published a short story in 1831, *Five Years of Youth*; but *Deerbrook*, published in 1839, was her first serious attempt at novel-writing. She declined a pension from Lord Melbourne in 1841, and again from Mr. Gladstone in 1873.

Classes are very much like each other in this country; the Middle Classes are bad; the higher and lower classes there's some good in, but the middle classes are all affectation and conceit and pretence and concealment." I said to Lord M. he so often kept one in hot water by saying *such* things before, and to, people; "It's a good thing to surprise," he said. I said he said such things of people's families to them. "That's a very good thing," he replied funnily, "I do that on purpose, I think it right to warn people of the faults in their families"; and he turned to Lilford¹ and said, "Your family has always been reckoned very prosing, so I warn you of that," which made us laugh so. I said to Lord M. I had told Stockmar what Lord M. had said to me here and at Windsor, about those very high principles like A.'s not *holding* often, upon which Stockmar said, generally speaking that was true, but that he didn't think that would be A.'s case.

Thursday, 30th January.—Talked of Miss Eden and her jumping into the river at Hampton Court and saving a child who fell in. "It was a courageous thing to do," he said. Of Lady Mayo,² and her being such a quiz. "Lady Mayo said to Lady Glengall,"³ Lord M. continued, "'I understand you said I was the ugliest woman in the world'; so Lady Glengall, quite driven to the wall, said, 'Well, I must say, Lady Mayo, I think you are the most frightful woman I ever saw in my life.'" Talked of the Heralds' Office, and Sir Wm. Woods, and Lord M. said, "They were very foolish about those Arms" (A.'s) "when they had the precedent under their very nose," which is quite true. "Old Lord Pembroke, who was then Lord Chamberlain," Lord M. continued, "said at the Coronation of George II., to Anstis,⁴ who was Garter,

¹ Thomas Atherton, third Lord Lilford (1801-61).

² Arabella, wife of John, fourth Earl of Mayo, a Lady-in-Waiting to Queen Adelaide. She was daughter of William Mackworth-Praed.

³ Margaret Lauretta, wife of Richard, second Earl of Glengall, and daughter and co-heiress of William Melhuish of Woodford, Essex.

⁴ John Anstis, the elder, Garter 1718-44. Part of the time he was joint holder of the office with his son, who held it till 1754.

'Thou silly knave, that dost not even know thy silly work!'

Lord M. sent me a letter from the Duke of Sussex before dinner, so delighted at giving me away, and I received one after dinner from him, which I gave Lord M., and he said in returning it, "He is very much pleased; I'm very glad."

We were seated as usual, Lord Melbourne sitting near me. He said he was quite well, but never *felt* quite well, which I said was the constant care and wear; and that he never felt quite free from some little ailing, nor did anybody; when he was young, he said, he never felt unwell, and used "only to live for my amusement," he said, and that if he were to begin life again he would do only that and not enter Politics at all. I said I thought people who only lived for their amusement bad, and that I was sure we should all be punished hereafter for living as we did without thinking at all of our future life. "That's not my case," Lord M. said; and we talked of living our life and beginning it again, and if it were possible, we agreed, we should try and correct ourselves. Talked of his having told me at Windsor that the young men in his day and he himself had been so very impudent; he said I must have misunderstood him, "for I was very shy; there never was a shy man."

Friday, 31st January.—Then he showed me a note from Lady Burghersh saying she had seen the Duke, who would be anxious not to do anything to embarrass the Government, but that the Precedence lay rather on awkward ground; and that they wouldn't oppose the 2nd reading, but make alterations in the Committee. The remainder of the time that Lord M. was with me, we talked almost entirely about this ill-fated Precedence, and I fear I was violent and eager about it. I said to Lord M. he must fight it out. The House of Lords *might* sit next day, he said, in order to get on with it; and in answer to my saying it was so dreadful not to have the Power even to give my Husband rank, Lord M. said I couldn't, that that was "the law of the Country," and

he thinks convenient at times. I declared if they didn't grant it to Albert for *his* life, I would give it all up and let him only have the rank Uncle Leopold had had. "Is that really your opinion?" Lord M. said, "for that would end it at once." I then hesitated, and said he must fight it out. "That's what I wish to know," Lord M. said. He told me, which I couldn't at first understand, that the Marriage couldn't take place until the Bill was passed, as the Bill would be void if it wasn't passed before. I showed him the Queen of the French's letter. I begged him to let me know, which he promised he would, and I repeated it was necessary he should fight it out. "Very well, Ma'am," he replied; "if we *were* beat, if you wished it we might say, 'Well then, we'll follow the Precedent'"; I said I must reflect about it. I fear I vexed him, kind, good man, as he looked, I think, grieved at my pertinacity.

Saturday, 1st February.—I was awoke at a little past 8 by a box from Lord John, dated $\frac{1}{2}$ p. 5, with the most welcome, most delightful news, that we had had a Majority of 21!¹ How delightful! How happy and light this made me feel! (Lord M. sent me a letter in the morning from Duncannon, saying he hoped I would consent to the Limitation of Precedence for my Life, as many of our friends wished for it. I wrote to Lord M. I was much against it; Lord M. agreed in my feelings, but thought as they should certainly be beat we had better give it up. Talked of my not wishing now to go to the Whitehall Chapel, as I heard the Pew was so public. "You'd better go," Lord M. said; I resisted; "Nothing so good as going in the midst of a large congregation," he said. I really couldn't, I said. "You'd better go," he added, as he went out of the room. I said I had seen Chantrey, who said he would go to his house; and Lord M. promised to sit, and also to Hayter, *here*. I said I feared Lord M. thought me grown obstinate. "Rather," he replied, mildly and kindly. Why was he

¹ On Sir John Yarde-Buller's motion of want of confidence.

so particularly anxious I should go to Church? I said. "It's a good thing before your marriage," Lord M. said. "I always wished you to go there." It was just that going before the marriage, so publicly, I said, which I disliked. "But it's of great importance that you should get over that dislike of going amongst everybody."¹

Sunday, 2nd February.—"It's a very odd thing," Lord M. said, "the Duke of Wellington said to Clarendon, 'I like Lord Melbourne, I've a very good opinion of him, and I think he's the best Minister the Queen can have, and he has given her very good advice I've no doubt; but I'm afraid he jokes too much with her, and makes her treat things too lightly, which are very serious.' Now there may be some truth in that," Lord Melbourne added. I said oh! no, but that perhaps as I often scolded him he jested a little about religion, which he denied. "It shows the shrewdness of the man," Lord M. said.²

Monday, 3rd February.—"I've got the Duke's ultimatum," Lord M. said, shaking his head, "it's what I thought";—adhering to the Precedent and giving Albert rank after all the Princes of the Blood, which I said was really a great deal too bad. "So we think," Lord M. said; "the best way will be to leave all Precedence out of the Bill, and say we'll settle it hereafter; then let it be settled as you like, partly by your prerogative and partly by Act of Parliament." This is much the best.³ . . .

Friday, 7th February.—Just before I went out I received a delightful letter from dearest Albert from Dover, written in the morning; he suffered most dreadfully coming over; he is much pleased with the very kind

¹ The Queen's shyness was very natural in so young a Princess. Greville says that when she announced her marriage to the Privy Council her hands trembled so that she could hardly read the Declaration.

² This passage illustrates not only the Duke's shrewdness, but Lord Melbourne's good-tempered readiness to accept criticism and even rebuke.

³ This is how the Prince's precedence was ultimately settled. The attempt to put it into the Bill was a mistake. Lord Melbourne's Government mismanaged the House of Commons in everything connected with the Queen's marriage.

reception he met with at Dover. Talked to Lord M. of Albert's letter, and one from Torrington saying dearest Albert's reception had pleased him so, as A. feared he wouldn't be well received; but Lord M. agreed with me that a Vote of the H. of Commons had nothing whatever to do with that. At this moment I received a letter, and a dear one, from dearest Albert from Canterbury, where he had just arrived, and where he had also been very well received, as I told Lord M., who said, "I've no doubt; his reception has been such that he must take care not to be intoxicated by that," which I said I was quite sure he needn't fear. Talked of Soult and his reception here having made him so friendly to England; of Sebastiani's removal; of Guizot. "You can always tell him you have read his book," Lord M. said laughing. As usual Lord Melbourne sitting near me, talked of my being a little agitated and nervous; "Most natural," Lord M. replied warmly; "how could it be otherwise?" Lord M. was so warm, so kind, and so affectionate, the whole evening, and so much touched in speaking of me and my affairs. Talked of my former resolution of never marrying. "Depend upon it, it's right to marry," he said earnestly; "if ever there was a situation that formed an exception, it was yours; it's in human nature, it's natural to marry; the other is a very unnatural state of things; it's a great *change*—it has its inconveniences; everybody does their best, and depend upon it you've done well; difficulties may arise from it," as they do of course from everything. Talked of popular assemblies, of my having grown so thin. "You look very well," he said; "after all," he continued, much affected, "how anybody in your situation can have a moment's tranquillity!—a young person cast in this situation is very unnatural. There was a beautiful account in a Scotch paper," he said, "of your first going to prorogue Parliament; 'I stood close to her,' it says, 'to see a young person surrounded by Ministers and Judges and rendered prematurely grave was almost melancholy'; 'a large searching eye, an open anxious nostril, and a firm

mouth.'” Lord M. repeated this several times, looking so kindly and affectionately at me; “A very true representation,” he said, “can’t be a finer physiognomy”—which made me smile, as he said it so earnestly. Talked of Albert’s being a little like me; of the Addresses and dinners A. would be plagued with; of my taking him to the Play soon. “There’ll be an immense flow of popularity now,” Lord M. said. Talked of the difficulty of keeping quite free from all Politics. I begged Lord M. much to manage about Thursday, which he promised he would, as I said it always made me so happy to have him. “I am sure none of your friends are so fond of you as I am,” I said. “I believe not,” he replied, quite touched, and I added also he had been always so very kind to me I couldn’t say *how* I felt it.

Saturday, 8th February.—At $\frac{1}{2}$ p. 4 the Carriage and Escort appeared, drove through the centre gate, and up to the door; I stood at the very door; 1st stepped out Ernest, then Uncle Ernest, and then Albert, looking beautiful and so well; I embraced him and took him by the hand and led him up to my room; Mamma, Uncle Ernest, and Ernest following. After dinner Albert and Ernest shook hands with Lord Melbourne. “I think they look very well,” Lord M. said when he came up to me; “I think he (A.) looks very well.” Talked of their passage; Lord M. said it was such a very good thing that Albert attended service in the Cathedral at Canterbury. I sat on the sofa with my beloved Albert, Lord Melbourne sitting near me. Talked of the gentlemen that Uncle had with him. Lord M. admired the diamond Garter which Albert had on, and said “Very handsome.” I told him it was my gift; I also gave him (all before dinner) a diamond star I had worn, and badge. Lord M. made us laugh excessively about his new Coat, which he said, “I expect it to be the thing most observed.”

Sunday, 9th February.—Received a beautiful Prayer-book from Mamma; breakfasted at 10. Wrote to Lord M. Dearest Albert and Ernest came in, Albert looking so

well, with a little of his blue ribbon showing.¹ He brought me 4 beautiful old Fans. At 12 I went down to Prayers with my beloved Albert, Mamma, Ernest, and my ladies and gentlemen. Mr. Vane read and the Bishop of London preached a very fine sermon. The Service was over at 5 m. p. 1. Talked of dearest Albert's being agitated. "That's very natural," Lord M. said, "I don't wonder at it." Lord M. promised to stay Thursday. I took his hand and pressed it, and thanked him for all his kindness, which I hoped he would continue. I couldn't believe what was to happen next day, I said. At a $\frac{1}{4}$ to 6 my beloved Albert came to me and stayed with me till 20 m. to 7. We read over the Marriage Service together and tried how to manage the *ring*. Wrote my journal. At 8 we dined. The dinner was just the same as the day before with the exception of Lord Albemarle, Lord Erroll, Lord Byron, Col. Grey, and Stockmar; and with the addition of Lord Surrey and Col. Cavendish. Albert led me in and I sat between him and Uncle E. It was my last unmarried evening, which made me feel so odd. I sat on the sofa with dearest Albert, Lord Melbourne sitting near me. Talked of A.'s having talked to him (L. M.); of guessing words; the Lord's Prayer being almost entirely composed of Saxon words, all but 4; of the Cathedral at Canterbury and Bishop Chicheley² being buried there.

Monday, 10th February.—Got up at a $\frac{1}{4}$ to 9—well, and having slept well; and breakfasted at $\frac{1}{2}$ p. 9. Mamma came before and brought me a Nosegay of orange flowers. My dearest kindest Lehzen gave me a dear little ring. Wrote my journal, and to Lord M. Had my hair dressed and the wreath of orange flowers put on. Saw Albert for the *last time alone*, as my *Bridegroom*. Dressed.

¹ The ribbon of the Garter was at this time worn by day. The Duke of Wellington constantly wore it, with a white waistcoat. The star was sometimes worn *without* the ribbon.

² Henry Chichele, or Chicheley, prelate and statesman. Archbishop of Canterbury and Founder of All Souls' College, Oxford. Died 1443.

Saw Uncle, and Ernest whom dearest Albert brought up. At $\frac{1}{2}$ p. 12 I set off, dearest Albert having gone before. I wore a white satin gown with a very deep flounce of Honiton lace, imitation of old. I wore my Turkish diamond necklace and earrings, and Albert's beautiful sapphire brooch.¹ Mamma and the Duchess of Sutherland went in the carriage with me. I never saw such crowds of people as there were in the Park, and they cheered most enthusiastically. When I arrived at St. James's, I went into the dressing-room where my 12 young Train-bearers² were, dressed all in white with white roses, which had a beautiful effect. Here I waited a little till dearest Albert's Procession had moved into the Chapel. I then went with my Train-bearers and ladies into the Throne-room, where the Procession formed; Lord Melbourne in his fine new dress-coat, bearing the Sword of State, and Lord Uxbridge and Lord Belfast³ on either side of him walked immediately before me. Queen Anne's room was full of people, ranged on seats one higher than the other, as also in the Guard room, and by the Staircase,—all very friendly; the Procession looked beautiful going downstairs. Part of the Colour Court was also covered in and full of people who were very civil. The Flourish of Trumpets ceased as I entered the Chapel, and the organ began to play, which had a beautiful effect. At the Altar, to my right, stood Albert; Mamma was on my left as also the Dukes

¹ The diamond necklace was left by Queen Victoria to the Duke of Connaught, and the sapphire brooch to the Crown. The lace is in the possession of H.M. Queen Alexandra.

² Lady Adelaide Paget, Lady Sarah Frederica Caroline Villiers, Lady Frances Elizabeth Cowper, Lady Elizabeth West, Lady Mary Augusta Frederica Grimston, Lady Eleanora Caroline Paget, Lady Caroline Amelia Gordon Lennox, Lady Elizabeth Anne Georgiana Dorothea Howard, Lady Ida Hay, Lady Catherine Lucy Wilhelmina Stanhope, Lady Jane Harriet Bouverie, and Lady Mary Charlotte Howard.

³ Eldest son of the second Marquess of Donegall, an A.D.C. to the Queen and Captain of the Yeomen of the Guard. Sat about twenty years for different Irish boroughs. He was created Lord Ennishowen in 1841, and became Marquess of Donegall in 1844.

of Sussex and Cambridge, and Aunt Augusta; and on Albert's right was the Queen Dowager, then Uncle Ernest, Ernest, the Duchess of Cambridge and little Mary, George, Augusta, and Princess Sophia Matilda. Lord Melbourne stood close to me with the Sword of State. The Ceremony was very imposing, and fine and simple, and I think OUGHT to make an everlasting impression on every one who promises at the Altar to *keep* what he or she promises. Dearest Albert repeated everything very distinctly. I felt so happy when the ring was put on, and by Albert. As soon as the Service was over, the Procession returned as it came, with the exception that my beloved Albert led me out. The applause was very great, in the Colour Court as we came through; Lord Melbourne, good man, was very much affected during the Ceremony and at the applause. We all returned to the Throne-room, where the Signing of the Register took place; it was first signed by the Archbishop, then by Albert and me, and all the Royal Family, and by: the Lord Chancellor, the Lord President, the Lord Privy Seal, the Duke of Norfolk (as Earl Marshal), the Archbishop of York, and Lord Melbourne. We then went into the Closet, and the Royal Family waited with me there till the ladies had got into their carriages. I gave all the Train-bearers as a brooch a small *eagle* of turquoise. I then returned to Buckingham Palace alone with Albert; they cheered us really most warmly and heartily; the crowd was immense; and the Hall at Buckingham Palace was full of people; they cheered us again and again. The great Drawing-room and Throne-room were full of people of rank, and numbers of children were there. Lord Melbourne and Lord Clarendon, who had arrived, stood at the door of the Throne-room when we came in. I went and sat on the sofa in my dressing-room with Albert; and we talked together there from 10 m. to 2 till 20 m. p. 2. Then we went downstairs where all the Company was assembled and went into the dining-

room—dearest Albert leading me in, and my Train being borne by 3 Pages, Cowell, little Wemyss, and dear little Byng. I sat between dearest Albert and the Duke of Sussex. My health and dearest Albert's were drunk. The Duke was very kind and civil. Albert and I drank a glass of wine with Lord Melbourne, who seemed much affected by the whole. I talked to all after the breakfast, and to Lord Melbourne, whose fine coat I praised. Little Mary¹ behaved so well both at the Marriage and the breakfast. I went upstairs and undressed and put on a white silk gown trimmed with swansdown, and a bonnet with orange flowers. Albert went downstairs and undressed. At 20 m. to 4 Lord Melbourne came to me and stayed with me till 10 m. to 4. I shook hands with him and he kissed my hand. Talked of how well everything went off. "Nothing could have gone off better," he said, and of the people being in such good humour and having also received him well; of my receiving the Addresses from the House of Lords and Commons; of his coming down to Windsor in time for dinner. I begged him not to go to the party; he was a little tired; I would let him know when we arrived; I pressed his hand once more, and he said, "God bless you, Ma'am," most kindly, and with such a kind look. Dearest Albert came up and fetched me downstairs, where we took leave of Mamma and drove off at near 4; I and Albert alone.

¹ Princess Mary of Cambridge, Duchess of Teck, mother of Queen Mary.

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